Over the Rainbow, Beyond the Screen:
Queer Legacies of *The Wizard of Oz* (1939) in Contemporary Art and Visual Culture

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis investigates the presence of the film *The Wizard of Oz* (1939, Victor Fleming, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer) in a selection of visual materials. Considered one of the most viewed and most influential motion pictures of all time, *The Wizard of Oz* has become a common focus in artistic production. To adequately evaluate this range of examples, this thesis is structured in three thematic sections of escape, transformation, and home. Contextualizing the film's production, the first section considers the relationship between escape and cinema by dissecting the Hollywood industry and the desires of filmgoers in the 1930s. Analyzing queer-focused artworks and sociopolitical activist projects, the second section examines how the film has been unintentionally transformed by its reverence within queer (LGBTQ+) culture. For instance, *The Deposition* (2019) by Carl Grauer depicts the film's characters in allyship with notable trans activists of the Stonewall Uprising, and American politicians are replaced with the film's characters in posters produced by ACT UP New York (c. 1990s) that were used in protests during the HIV and AIDS epidemic. Engaging with concepts of home, the final section looks to works of art that support and challenge the film's famous quotation, "there's no place like home," such as Ken Lum's public installation of the same name (2000), and *Suburban Legend* (1999) by Julie Becker. Shared amongst the visual materials in this thesis is an active queering of *The Wizard of Oz*, or a non-normative interpretation of its cultural value. Borrowing scholarship from queer theory and film studies, this thesis demonstrates how a single film can perform as an effective cultural agent that is continually revisited and reconsidered through media that transcends the cinema screen.

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This project would not have been as memorable had it not been for those who I had the pleasure to meet along the journey. To the librarians and staff at The Margaret Herrick Library (Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences), thank you for assisting my foray into Hollywood history. If this is my chance to say it, then I would very much like to thank the Academy. To Amanda Garfinkel, thank you for taking the time to talk 'camp' with me, and for the bonus tour of The Costume Institute. To Dan and Dominique Angeloro, thank you for your thoughtful and caring correspondence. To Carl Grauer, thank you for your generosity, encouragement, and unwavering kindness; your contribution to this project has added an invaluable richness.

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To my family who introduced me to *The Wizard of Oz* on a VHS tape when I was three years old, thank you for always nurturing my imagination, hopes, and dreams, no matter how unusual. Who knew it would lead to this? And to my dear friends who have supported this endeavour from afar: you are all proof that there's no place like home.

This thesis is dedicated to anyone who has ever felt the need to temporarily escape from a world that can sometimes feel so grey and unsure.

"These things must be done delicately…"
— The Wicked Witch of the West, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939)

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INTRODUCTION

Within a bookcase in my parents' house rests a well-worn VHS tape of *The Wizard of Oz* (1939, Victor Fleming). Its sky-blue cardboard jacket is ripped, scratched, and scuffed, obscuring the back-cover's text to the point where it is barely legible (fig. 1). I am mostly to blame for the deterioration of this cassette, because as a child, I would watch the film at least once per week. Throughout my upbringing, I illustrated picture books, built dioramas, cut construction paper dolls, and filled endless pages of drawing paper with characters and scenes from *The Wizard of Oz*. My seventh birthday party was themed after the film; guests arrived in costume (I was the Scarecrow), and my parents covered the walkway to our bungalow in sheets of yellow paper, fashioning a makeshift Yellow Brick Road (fig. 2). *The Wizard of Oz* carried an ever-present force in my juvenile imagination, but into adulthood, I continued seeing *The Wizard of Oz* outside of its filmic context. Three years ago, while surfing the Internet, I happened upon a clip from *After the Rainbow* (2009), an experimental video by Australian art collective Soda_Jerk that distorts the cultural value of the film through the biography of its leading actress, Judy Garland (1922-1969). Shortly after, in the spring of 2018, I read that fashion designer Virgil Abloh would incorporate imagery from the film into his debut collection with Louis Vuitton. These two examples exist within a vast network of visual reinterpretations of the film's legacy that ultimately allow the film's connotations to transcend the confines of popular cinema. *The Wizard of Oz* remains a cherished childhood film for me and countless others. However, it has also become the site for artistic interventions that continue to reflect upon and challenge its cultural significance.

This thesis examines the influence of *The Wizard of Oz* across a selection of artworks and products of visual culture (i.e., protest art, textile art, and photography). I argue that due to its

cultural ubiquity, *The Wizard of Oz* has become a popular point of departure for various modes of artistic production. Its audience has correspondingly expanded, particularly with its transformation as a point of identification within queer (LGBTQ+) communities. The film's themes of escape, home, and belonging have been accordingly remodeled by those who seek alternative relationships to these universal desires. By investigating a selection of artworks and their contexts, I aim to emphasize the importance of the relationships that are established between a film and its viewer. For over eighty years, *The Wizard of Oz* has provided its audience with a colourful vision of fantasy, magic, and hope. The breadth of artworks described in this thesis cumulatively promise to go beyond the cinema screen – to revisit the proverbial rainbow – in their own ways, effectively reconsidering a film that continues to be celebrated, transformed, and questioned.

Adapted from the 1900 novel *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* by L. Frank Baum (1856-1919), the 1939 Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) musical directed by Victor Fleming (1889-1949) follows the adventures of Dorothy Gale (Judy Garland), a farmgirl from Kansas.[1] After a tornado transports Dorothy and her dog, Toto, into the land of Oz, she befriends a brainless Scarecrow (Ray Bolger), a heartless Tin Man (Jack Haley), and a Cowardly Lion (Bert Lahr) along the Yellow Brick Road on a quest towards the Emerald City to request the help of The Wizard (Frank Morgan).[2] The film received two Academy Awards, for Best Original Score and

[1] A literary classic in its own right, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* has been coined the "quintessential American fairy tale." For textual notes and historical information on the novel, see L. Frank Baum and Patrick Michael Hearn, *Annotated Wizard of Oz: Centennial Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2000).

[2] *The Wizard of Oz* premiered at Grauman's Chinese Theatre in Hollywood on August 15, 1939, and it would be released to theatres across North America ten days later. Critics often compared its fantasy to Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1937), but mostly praised the film's musical score, performances, and technical achievements, with one *New York Times* reviewer claiming it as "a delightful piece of wonderworking which had the youngers' eyes shining and brought a quietly amused gleam to the wiser ones of the oldsters." Frank S. Nugent, "The Screen in Review: 'The Wizard of Oz,' Produced by the Wizards of Hollywood, Works Its Magic on the Capitol's Screen," *New York Times*, August 18, 1939, 16. See also: Nelson B. Bell, "Technicolor Fantasy Is

Best Original Song ("Over the Rainbow"), as well as a special Juvenile Oscar for Garland's performance.[3] In a year that is considered by many film historians to be Hollywood's greatest (*Gone with the Wind, Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, *Wuthering Heights* and *The Women* are among the titles released in 1939), *The Wizard of Oz* is arguably the most enduring.[4]

As one of the most-viewed, most beloved, and most influential motion pictures of all time, *The Wizard of Oz* continues to reappear in the public eye in myriad forms.[5] Fashion designer Virgil Abloh's debut collection (Spring/Summer 2019) as Artistic Director for Louis Vuitton Menswear adopted the film's imagery in its designs and marketing (figs 3-7).[6] In September 2018, a pair of Ruby Slippers used in the film were recovered by the FBI and returned to the Judy Garland Museum in Grand Rapids, Minnesota after their theft thirteen years prior,[7] and one month later, the Smithsonian Museum of American History re-exhibited their collection's pair of Ruby Slippers after a two-year-long, crowdfunded conservation project (fig. 8).[8] *The Wizard of Oz* continues to appear in leading American museums, as two versions of

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Triumph of Cinema's Mechanical Proficiency; Has Stellar Cast," *The Washington Post*, September 2, 1939, 11; and Roly Young, "Rambling with Roly: The Wizard of Oz," *The Globe and Mail*, September 15, 1939, 9.

[3] "The 12th Academy Awards (1940)," Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, accessed November 27, 2019, https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1940.

[4] For further reading on the significance of 1939 in American cinema, see Gerald Clarke, "1939: Twelve Months of Magic," *Time*, March 27, 1989 and Thomas S. Hischak, *1939: Hollywood's Greatest Year* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017).

[5] Danielle Birkett and Dominic McHugh, eds., "Introduction—Rainbow Reflections: *The Wizard of Oz* as a Musical," in *Adapting* The Wizard of Oz: *Musical Versions from Baum to MGM and Beyond* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 5.

[6] Abloh's collection of 56 designs featured images and quotations from the film, and its Paris Fashion Week debut at the Palais-Royale Gardens was paved with a rainbow gradient runway. In October 2018, a pop-up shop in London's Mayfair District was designed with motifs from the film, including a poppy field and a Yellow Brick Road-patterned floor. Subsequent Oz-themed pop-up shops appeared in numerous cities such as Toronto, Vancouver, New York, Singapore, and Tokyo. Sarah Mower, "Spring 2019 Menswear: Louis Vuitton," Vogue, June 21, 2018, https://www.vogue.com/fashion-shows/spring-2019-menswear/louis-vuitton.

[7] Jennifer Medina, "Dorothy's Ruby Slippers Were Stolen 13 Years Ago. Now They've Been Found," *The New York Times*, November 1, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/04/us/dorothys-ruby-slippers-stolen.html.

[8] Max Kutner, "The Return of Dorothy's Iconic Ruby Slippers, Now Newly Preserved for the Ages," Smithsonian Magazine, October 18, 2018, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/return-dorothys-iconic-ruby-slippers-now-newly-preserved-ages-180970574/.

Garland's ballad, "Over the Rainbow," rang throughout *Camp: Notes on Fashion*, the Spring 2019 exhibition at Metropolitan Museum of Art's Costume Institute.[9] When the Academy Museum of Motion Pictures opens in Los Angeles in 2021, its multilevel exhibition, *Stories of Cinema*, will feature a gallery dedicated to the making of *The Wizard of Oz*, presenting the film's artifacts to the public for the first time (fig. 9).[10] Although this thesis recognizes the recent occurrences in which *The Wizard of Oz* has reappeared in public consciousness (after all, they encouraged this research in the first place), the film has also become a site of interpretation for a range of artistic production that surpasses its own material history. Countless artists, activists, and designers have used the film to address numerous topics, concerns, and questions. Throughout this thesis, I ask: what happens to the legacy of *The Wizard of Oz* when it is transformed and complicated by various modes of artistic production?

Not surprisingly, *The Wizard of Oz* has been analyzed in nearly every field of scholarship, including but not limited to film theory, feminist theory, psychoanalysis, political theory, religion, and philosophy.[11] However, *The Wizard of Oz* has not been considered from an art historical perspective, as the academic boundaries between art history and film studies have seldom considered the influence of films on the visual arts. As early as the 1930s, films began to

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[9] Curator Andrew Bolton wanted to honour Garland as one of the "heroes of camp." The decision to play the film's recording of "Over the Rainbow" in the introductory spaces of the exhibition was made about two months prior to its opening, and the rendition played in the exhibition's largest and final room – Garland's last live performance of the song, three months prior to her death – was decided upon during installation. Amanda Garfinkel, interview with the author, July 22, 2019; For further reading on *Camp: Notes on Fashion*, see Andrew Bolton, ed., *Camp: Notes on Fashion* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019).

[10] "Exhibitions | Stories of Cinema 2," Academy Museum of Motion Pictures, accessed May 1, 2020, www.academymuseum.org/exhibition/stories-of-cinema-2.

[11] For an analysis of the novel and 1939 film in their connections to populism, see Henry M. Littlefield, "The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism," *American Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1964): 47–58. For an engagement with religious studies, see Paul Nathanson, *Over the Rainbow: The Wizard of Oz as a Secular Myth of America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

be studied in scholarship for not only their sociocultural significance, but also as distinctive works of art. As art historian Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) wrote in 1934:

> Today there is no denying that narrative films are not only 'art' — not often good art, to be sure, but this applies to other media as well — but also, besides architecture, cartooning, and 'commercial design,' the only visual art entirely alive. The 'movies' have re-established that dynamic contact between art production and art consumption which, for reasons too complex to be considered here, is solely attenuated, if not entirely interrupted, in many other fields of artistic endeavor. Whether we like it or not, it is the movies that mold, more than any other single force, the opinions, the taste, the language, the dress, the behavior, and even the physical appearance of a public comprising more than 60 percent of the population of the earth.[12]

As Panofsky argues, the commercial availability of cinema introduces a contact of exchange between the production and consumption of art, ultimately suggesting that cinema as the most influential art form in modernity.[13] Since their invention, motion pictures have contributed towards the formation of cultural values, interests, and social relationships. *The Wizard of Oz* is a work of art in its own right, as its sets, special effects, and costumes display the zenith of classic Hollywood filmmaking (figs 10-11), and the film's innovative use of three-strip Technicolor film was even marketed as "MGM's Technicolor triumph" (figs 12-13). [14] MGM's slogan, "Ars

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[12] Erwin Panofsky, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," in *Theater and Cinema: Contrasts in Media, 1916-1966*, ed. Robert Cardullo (Palo Alto, CA: Academia Press, 2011), 55.

[13] For an analysis of Panofsky's film essay as it relates to recent debates in visual culture, see Horst Bredekamp, "A Neglected Tradition? Art History as Bildwissenschaft," *Critical Inquiry* 29, no. 3 (2003): 418–28.

[14] *The Wizard of Oz* is recorded to have employed approximately 150 artisans and 500 carpenters to construct over sixty sets. MGM assigned Cedric Gibbons, head of the Art Department, as the film's principal art director. William A. Horning is credited as associate art director. Jack Martin Smith and Malcolm Brown are credited as production designers. Ben Carré, painter and art director for the Paris Opera, worked as one of the film's scenic artists. For more on the history of art direction Hollywood cinema, see Cathy Whitlock, *Designs on Film: A Century of Hollywood Art Direction* (New York: It Books, 2010); Gilbert Adrian, head of MGM's Costume Department, was the film's costume designer. For more on Adrian's work in and beyond *The Wizard of Oz*, see Howard Gutner, *Gowns by Adrian: The MGM Years, 1928-1941* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001); Christian Esquevin, *Adrian: Silver Screen to Custom Label* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2008); Leonard Stanley, *Adrian: A Lifetime of Movie Glamour, Art and High Fashion* (New York: Rizzoli, 2019) and Gilbert Adrian, "Clothes," in *Behind the Screen: How Films Are Made*, ed. Stephen Watts (London: Arthur Baker Ltd., 1938). A. Arnold Gillespie was responsible for the film's special effects. For a detailed account of Gillespie's work on *The Wizard of Oz*, see Aljean Harmetz, "Special Effects," in *The Making of The Wizard of Oz* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 243-261; *The Wizard of Oz* was nominated for Best Art Direction (Gibbons and Horning) and Best Effects, Special Effects (Gillespie) at the 1940 Academy Awards, losing to *Gone with the Wind* and *The Rains Came*, respectively. "The 12th Academy Awards (1940)," Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, accessed January 27, 2020, https://www.oscars.org/oscars/ceremonies/1940.

Gratia Artis" (Latin for "Art for Art's Sake")[15] (fig. 14) further endorses the association between art and film that has been debated in scholarship.[16] This thesis not only regards *The Wizard of Oz* as a work of art, but more importantly, it reveals how its artistic splendors, themes, and popularity have advanced its influence across various modes of artistic practice. At its most foundational, this thesis bridges the scholarly gaps between art history and film history or film studies. It demonstrates that, as a single film, *The Wizard of Oz* carries a substantial impact that surpasses its initial medium and intended audience, which prompts the accompanying question: Why have artists so consistently used *The Wizard of Oz* as a point of departure for their work?

Theoretical Framework and Methodology

Aligning myself with cultural theorist Andrew Ross, I believe that although it may not always be evident, research on popular culture is always autobiographical to some extent.[17] I have admired *The Wizard of Oz* for as long as I can remember, so there is no question that this research has derived from my personal affinity for the film. Therefore, I do not turn a blind eye to my subjective opinion of it. However, by investigating a breadth of artistic reinterpretations of *The Wizard of Oz* with their corresponding contexts and histories, I strive to self-criticize, destabilize, complicate, and challenge my personal attachments to the film and all that surrounds it.

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[15] Donald Albrecht, "Hollywood Unlimited," in *Designing Dreams: Modern Architecture in the Movies* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 88.

[16] Recent disciplinary shifts have aligned scholarly fields that have historically been separated. The term visual culture critically investigates a variety of visual materials and histories, including but not limited to visual art, film, television, photography, advertising, design, and digital media. As a result of its objective in investigating the artistic influence of a film, this thesis is aligned to studies in visual culture. In some cases, academic institutions have chosen to rename their art history departments in favour of studies in visual culture. For more on the development of visual culture as a methodology, see Nicholas Mirzoeff, *An Introduction to Visual Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999) and Michael Yonan, "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 18, no. 2 (2011): 232–48; Critical theories in art history and film studies have intersected in discourse regarding, perspective, the gaze, and spectatorship. See Margaret Iversen and Stephen Melville, "The Gaze in Perspective: Merleau-Ponty, Lacan, Damisch," in *Writing Art History: Disciplinary Departures* (University of Chicago Press, 2010), 109–28.

[17] Andrew Ross, "No Respect: An Introduction," in *No Respect: Intellectuals and Popular Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 14.

This thesis employs queer theory as its main methodological framework, and is deeply indebted to the work of Sara Ahmed, David Halperin, José Esteban Muñoz, and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. "Queer," as Halperin argues, "demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative," and through employing a queer positionality, "it may become possible to envision a variety of possibilities […] for restructuring relations among power, truth, and desire."[18] To Sedgwick, queer can be defined as "the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically."[19] Queer, by this definition, suggests any resistance to the norm or the mainstream.[20] Ahmed posits that a process of becoming queer necessitates "risking departure from the straight and narrow,"[21] and it is this divergence from normativity that generates a queer methodology.[22] Thus, I use queer as an active mode of investigation and deconstruction, as a verb that disrupts normative values. All of the visual materials in this thesis are engaged in a queering of *The Wizard of Oz*, as they critically reevaluate the film's imagery, themes, and cultural value. Most importantly, these materials – paintings, prints, participatory and public art installations, video-based artworks, protest posters, and textiles – stray from the intended meaning of *The Wizard of Oz*, fundamentally appropriating the film to reflect an abundance of alternative implications.

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[18] David M. Halperin, "The Queer Politics of Michel Foucault," in *Saint Foucault: Towards A Gay Hagiography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 62.
[19] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Queer and Now," in *Tendencies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 8.
[20] Halperin, "The Queer Politics of Michel Foucault," 62.
[21] Sara Ahmed, "Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12, no. 4 (September 14, 2006): 554.
[22] Ahmed, "Orientations," 570.

Although this thesis does not exclusively focus on queer-identified artists, *The Wizard of Oz* carries a palpable legacy within queer culture. Therefore, these creative means of appropriation can be also viewed as survival strategies for minority groups who have limited cultural representations. As Muñoz would suggest, these artistic reinterpretations provide ways for minority groups to counter-identify with representations in majoritarian popular culture.[23] On the other hand, Sedgwick argues the shame felt within minority groups is an integral site of identity formation outside of the mainstream, so shame becomes the impetus for creative ways to move beyond the restraints of mainstream culture.[24] This is particularly important for the visual materials in this thesis that have used *The Wizard of Oz* to engage with issues of queer sexual and gender identities that have collectively invested new life into the film's meaning, opting to view it as a positive affirmation of queer identity and experience.[25] With this in mind, queer is also characterized in its continuum of sexualities and genders in excess to the binaries of homosexuality and heterosexuality.[26] Overall, a queer methodology offers an inclusionary and flexible space for reworking and destabilizing established understandings of identities, behaviours, representations, and histories.[27]

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[23] José Esteban Muñoz, "Introduction," in *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and The Performance of Politics*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 12.
[24] Sedgwick, "Queer Performativity: Henry James's *The Art of the Novel*," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 1, no. 1 (November 1, 1993): 14.
[25] It is not my objective to concentrate exclusively on the film's connections to queer sexuality and identity. This aspect, while vital, fits within larger discourses of the film's legacy. As Alexander Doty argues, due to the reverence of *The Wizard of Oz* as a childhood film, delimiting its significance to discussions of sexuality would discredit its more innocent connotations. Alexander Doty, "'My Beautiful Wickedness': *The Wizard of Oz* as Lesbian Fantasy," in *Flaming Classics: Queering the Film Canon* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 56.
[26] Sedgwick, "Introduction: Axiomatic," 2; Halperin, "The Queer Politics of Michel Foucault," 62.
[27] Throughout this thesis, I use queer as a verb and adjective, as an active mode of investigation to identify anything that opposes the norm. When appropriate, I also use queer to refer to those who self-identify outside of the heterosexual majority; in other words, in reference to anyone within the LGBTQ+ community. Queer also carries a history as a pejorative used against anyone who is not straight. Since the 1990s, however, queer has been reclaimed by many as an affirmatory label. More specifically, I use gay to refer to homosexual men and women after the Stonewall Uprising and the subsequent gay liberation movement, when gay was used in relation to identity politics. Aligning myself with Brett Farmer, I acknowledge that the academic overuse of queer can risk ignoring the specificities of sexual subjectivities, experiences, and the systemic power dynamics within queer communities. As a

Looking to film studies, I investigate the production history of *The Wizard of Oz*, and the context of the Hollywood industry under which the film was made. Most importantly, I engage with scholarship that provides in understanding how the film has become inadvertently embraced through queer spectatorship, and correspondingly in artistic projects that focus on issues of queer sexual and gender identities. As Benshoff and Griffin argue, *The Wizard of Oz* does not explicitly deal with queer sexuality, but rather, it is been admired by queer audiences.[28] In his survey of celebrity culture and fan worship, Richard Dyer focuses on the association between Judy Garland and gay men, prompting an understanding for how the leading actress of *The Wizard of Oz* would become an established gay icon in the years leading up to and after the gay liberation movement. Vito Russo's seminal text, *The Celluloid Closet*, provides an exhaustive survey of films that have expressed and inferred queer identities while also exposing Hollywood's anti-queer systems, thereby prompting a foundation for not only understanding how certain films have represented queerness, but more importantly, how queerness has been negotiated and identified by queer audiences through a series of textual codes and signifiers.[29]

Of course, research on queer identities is innately political, so I turn to scholarship in the histories of queer activism and politics to consider how *The Wizard of Oz* has been visually appropriated in social and political activist projects. In her rich explanation of the gay and lesbian liberation movement in the United States, Margaret Cruikshank highlights the work of

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flexible term, queer resists a singular definition, and opts for a multifaceted understanding of how relationships and identities can destabilize normative structures. See: Steven Cohan, "Introduction," in *Incongruous Entertainment: Camp, Cultural Value, and the MGM Musical* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 5; Doty, "Introduction," in *Flaming Classics: Queering the Film Canon* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 8; Farmer, "Introduction," in *Spectacular Passions: Cinema, Fantasy, Gay Male Spectatorships* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 16.

[28] Harry M. Benshoff and Sean Griffin, "Introduction," in *Queer Images: A History of Gay and Lesbian Film in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 10.

[29] Vito Russo, "Introduction: On the Closet Mentality," in *The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies*, Rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), xi.

activist groups after the Stonewall Uprising and during the HIV and AIDS epidemic.[30] As Cruikshank argues, the rise in institutionalized homophobia during this time, "is crucial to understanding gay liberation."[31] Engagements with the histories of queer activism provide an understanding for why something as seemingly trivial as *The Wizard of Oz* has been continually used to substantially engage in visual acts of political solidarity.

To observe how the omnipresent theme of home in *The Wizard of Oz* has been challenged in artistic practice, I engage with interdisciplinary scholarship encompassing queer theory, affect theory, postcolonial studies, social history, and cultural studies. First, I delve into the connotations of the American home in the 1930s (when the film was released) and the 1950s (when it debuted on television).[32] As Richard Selcer argues, the idea of home is an American concept, but more notably, the rural American homestead (Dorothy's Kansas) was "the basic unit of American society" before the Depression took its toll.[33] This contextualization proves how attitudes of home have shifted in the years since the film's release. Writing from the intersection of decolonial studies and affect theory, Ahmed states that because home is often viewed as a sentimental space of belonging, "being at-home is a matter of how one feels or how one might

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[30] As opposed to riot, I prefer to use the term uprising to describe the events at Stonewall in alignment with Stonewall activist Stormé DeLarverie, who claimed, "[Stonewall] was a rebellion, it was an uprising, it was a civil rights disobedience. It wasn't no damn riot." "Stormé DeLarverie," Stonewall Veterans' Association, 2014, http://www.stonewallvets.org/StormeDeLarverie.htm; By definition, riot refers to a "violent disturbance of the peace by a crowd; an outbreak of violent civil disorder or lawlessness." The events at Stonewall were instigated by the authority of the police force, and not by Stonewall's patrons, thus describing the event as a riot is misleading. "Riot, n.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 21, 2020, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/166168.

[31] Margaret Cruikshank, "Introduction," in *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 10.

[32] I limit my historical investigation of the American home in the 1930s and 1950s in order to focus on the geographical context in which the film was produced, and how its specific, American message has been reinterpreted in artistic production by artists of various nationalities. I do not suggest that these histories regarding the concept of home are exclusive to Americans. As a Canadian, I posit that home has been understood similarly in Canada, as well as in the rest of North America and much of the Western world.

[33] Richard F. Selcer, "From Tara to Oz and Home Again: Home Sweet Movies," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 18, no. 2 (April 1, 1990): 54.

fail to feel."[34] Although some may feel comfortable at home, it can also make one feel inadequate or strange. This is crucial for artists who engage with issues of migration, resettlement, displacement, and estrangement; in other words, destabilizing the romanticized concept of home in *The Wizard of Oz*. This section is also attentive to how urban centres have become hubs for LGBTQ+ communities who have been estranged from home's familial core. Bridging these histories to ongoing concerns, I recognize the issue of homelessness among LGBTQ+ youth in Canada and the United States.[35] Since the artworks within this section contend with larger feelings towards home that transcend spatial boundaries, I do not prioritize urban spaces over rural, nor the public domain over the private.

To deepen my understanding of their practices in relation to the scope of this thesis, I have conducted interviews with artists Carl Grauer, Dan and Dominique Angeloro (Soda_Jerk), and Amanda Garfinkel, Assistant Curator of the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. From the collections of The Margaret Herrick Library (Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences), I have reviewed a variety of primary documents, including advertisements, production art, manuscripts, interviews, published film reviews, correspondence, and other archival materials in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of the film's production, and more importantly, the industrial context of the Hollywood system under which *The Wizard of Oz* was produced.

Outline of Sections

The three sections of this thesis take on a thematic approach that reflect the film's plot. This method allows for a broad survey of visual examples that fit within their prescribed sections,

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[34] Sara Ahmed, "Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement," in *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 89 (italics in original).
[35] Alex Abramovich and Jama Shelton, *Where Am I Going To Go: Intersectional Approaches to Ending LGBTQ2S Youth Homelessness in Canada & the U.S.* (Toronto: Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press, 2017).

sometimes appearing in more than one. If the ultimate objective of this thesis is to prove that *The Wizard of Oz* has influenced numerous examples of artistic production, then providing one, two, or three case studies of individual artworks would simply not support its most fundamental objective. This narrative-driven structure also restates the centrality of *The Wizard of Oz*. While this is an art history thesis, it is fixated on a film that is propelled by its plot.

The first section prioritizes notions of escape within the plot of *The Wizard of Oz*, as well as its production, and social, cultural, and economic contexts. I use the first two definitions of escape provided by the Oxford English Dictionary to guide this investigation: escape (1) as a physical action, and (2) as a mental distraction from the everyday by way of entertainment, and in this case, cinema.[36] Regarding the first definition, Dorothy's journey to Oz in the novel is physical, but was changed into a psychological phenomenon for the film adaptation. In other words, Dorothy's adventure is a dream, or an imaginary, heightened representation of her reality, which introduces the second and most critical explanation of escape in the film. Thus, escape as a mental distraction is prompted as the entry point for understanding the escapist desires of the filmgoing public, as well as the values broadcasted by the Hollywood system of the 1930s. In problematizing the regulations of Hollywood during its so-called Golden Age, I unpack the industry's discriminatory, anti-queer controls, namely the Hays Production Code, to determine how escape can reconsidered for spectators who did not belong to the heterosexual majority.

As revealed in the first section, *The Wizard of Oz* was produced under a complicated industry that erased marginalized groups from the screen. Despite this, it has been established as a positive cultural agent of queer identification through a chain of sensibilities and signifiers. The

[36] "Escape, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed May 12, 2020, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64236.

second section investigates visual materials that reflect the film's longstanding admiration among the LGBTQ+ community. Judy Garland's legacy as a queer icon is emphasized in *After the Rainbow* (2009), an experimental video by Soda_Jerk. In Carl Grauer's *The Deposition* (2019), the film's characters are painted in allyship with trans activists of the Stonewall Uprising and the subsequent gay liberation movement. In the visual culture of activism, I look to how *The Wizard of Oz* has been appropriated in posters produced by ACT UP New York during the HIV and AIDS epidemic in the United States. By investigating these materials, I emphasize how *The Wizard of Oz* has inadvertently infiltrated LGBTQ+ activism, history, and culture.

Following this adventure over the proverbial rainbow, section three, like Dorothy, returns home. The film's famous quotation, "there's no place like home," has become an idiom used to express one's idea of belonging. However, the notion of home in T*he Wizard of Oz* is sentimental, fitting into the American context under which the film was produced. Here, I focus on artistic responses to the film's central message to demonstrate how attitudes towards home have shifted since the film's theatrical release. Julie Becker's *Suburban Legend* (1999) highlights the popular myths that have been attached to the film by virtue of its presence on American television. On the other hand, works by Félix González-Torres, Rosalie Favell, and Ken Lum engage with critical issues faced by minoritized and racialized communities, such as migration, settlement, and displacement. Through investigating works in this final section, I determine that experiences of home and belonging – or lack thereof – are far more varied than the film portrays.

I should note that this thesis does not examine popular adaptations of *The Wizard of Oz* (i.e., the stage musicals *The Wiz* and *Wicked*, or the films *Return to Oz* and *Oz the Great and*

Powerful), nor its countless references in other forms of mass entertainment.[37] Rather, this thesis focuses on the film's appearance in less familiar examples of contemporary art and visual culture.[38] This thesis is also by no means an investigation of every artwork that has utilized imagery or motifs from the film. Instead, the works of art described in this thesis demonstrate how *The Wizard of Oz* has been used as a point of departure to stimulate artistic and cultural products in alignment with the three thematic sections of escape, transformation, and home.

[37] As one of the most influential films of all time, *The Wizard of Oz* has been pervasively referenced in motion pictures, television programs, and popular music. Although impossible to list them all here, some popular examples include (in film): *The Boys in the Band* (1970), *The Rock Horror Picture Show* (1975), *Annie Hall* (1977), *Airplane!* (1980), *Raiders of The Lost Ark* (1981), *E.T. The Extra Terrestrial* (1981), *Beetlejuice* (1988), *Wild at Heart* (1990), *Thelma & Louise* (1991), *The Mask* (1994), *Pleasantville* (1998), *A Single Man* (2009), *Love, Simon* (2018); (in television): *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, *RuPaul's Drag Race*, *The Golden Girls*, *MAD TV*, *Law & Order*, *Modern Family*, *Queer As Folk*, *Saturday Night Live*, *The Simpsons*, *Will & Grace*; (in music): "Goodbye Yellow Brick Road" (Elton John, 1973), "Eldorado" (1974, Electric Light Orchestra), "Remember the Tin Man" (Tracy Chapman, 1995), "Gypsy" (Lady Gaga, 2013). For a comprehensive list of references to *The Wizard of Oz* in film and television, see "The Wizard of Oz (1939) - Connections," IMDb, accessed February 23, 2020, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0032138/movieconnections; A recent algorithmic study surveying thousands of Western films identified *The Wizard of Oz* as the most influential film by way of its reference in other motion pictures. Livio Bioglio and Ruggero G. Pensa, "Identification of Key Films and Personalities in the History of Cinema from a Western Perspective," *Applied Network Science* 3, no. 1 (December 2018): 50, https://doi.org/10.1007/s41109-018-0105-0.

[38] For further reading on stage adaptations of Baum's novel, see Birkett and McHugh, eds., *Adapting* The Wizard of Oz*: Musical Versions from Baum to MGM and Beyond*.

I: ESCAPE

"Some place where there isn't any trouble.
Do you suppose there is such a place, Toto? There must be…"
— Dorothy, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939)

Moments before she sings "Over the Rainbow," Dorothy questions if there is a place where she can escape to in order to be understood by others. The desire to escape is a prominent characteristic in nearly every fairy tale, and *The Wizard of Oz* is no exception.[39] The childlike curiosity to escape moves into adulthood, as one craves for a temporary departure from the everyday, echoed in the film's dedication to the "Young in Heart" in its opening titles (fig. 15).[40] Dorothy's escape presents the opportunity to fulfill her wishes, and in effect, the film's viewers approach their own relationships to the dreamworld of Oz, aptly provoking aspirations to escape into a world that is free from strife, where anything may be possible, and where one's fantasies might be realized. However, escape can be interpreted in many ways. For the purposes of this analysis, I engage with escape through two definitions provided by the OED.

Defining Escape

According to the OED, escape can first be defined as an "action of escaping, or the fact of having escaped."[41] This definition, a physical act, is detected in Dorothy's journey from Kansas to Oz. When the tornado carries her house into the marvellous land, she is transported to a place with all of the wonders she was yearning for in "Over the Rainbow." However, Dorothy's escape to Oz is not physical. Rather, it is a psychological phenomenon, or a heightened representation of her

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[39] As the introduction to Baum's novel claims, "the modern child seeks only entertainment in its wonder-tales. […] [*The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*] aspires to be a modernized fairy tale, in which the wonderment and joy are retained and the heart-aches and nightmares are left out." L. Frank Baum, "Introduction," *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* (Chicago: George M. Hill Company, 1900).
[40] Victor Fleming, *The Wizard of Oz* (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1939), 00:01:35.
[41] "Escape, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed April 21, 2020, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64236.

reality.[42] Dorothy's adventure is nothing more than a dream, or an unconscious escape.[43] In Baum's novel, conversely, Oz is a real place. The shift of Oz from real to imaginary calls for an evaluation of the decision by the screenwriters to do so, but more importantly, it encourages an investigation into the greater intentions of Hollywood in relation to the production of *The Wizard of Oz* and other films of the period.[44] Film scholars have noted that the choice for Dorothy's journey to exist in her unconscious are based on the unpopularity of pure fantasy as a film genre in the 1930s.[45] Simply, the establishment of a dream narrative would make *The Wizard of Oz* more palatable to contemporary audiences. If Dorothy's escape is everything but real, then this first definition of escape as a physical act is unsuitable. However, this first definition prompts an understanding for why Hollywood would make such a substantial change from the novel, and what can be unearthed with an investigation of Hollywood's power at this significant period in film history.

The second definition of escape offered by the OED is described as a "mental or emotional distraction, especially by way of literature, music, from the realities of life."[46] This

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[42] In the film, several of the characters in Kansas become fantastical representations or counterparts of themselves in Oz. This is further clarified as they are all played by the same actors. Ray Bolger is Hunk/The Scarecrow, Jack Haley is Hickory/The Tin Man, Bert Lahr is Zeke/The Cowardly Lion, Frank Morgan is Professor Marvel/The Wizard, and Margaret Hamilton is Miss Gulch/The Wicked Witch of the West.

[43] While I acknowledge the tradition of dream analysis in psychoanalytic theory, it is not my objective to do so in this thesis. Rather, I unpack the sociocultural significance of escape via spectatorship in 1930s Hollywood cinema. For formative work on dreams and the unconscious, see Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. Joyce Crick (1899; repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), and Freud, *The Uncanny*, trans. David McLintock (1919; repr., New York: Penguin Random House, 2003). For dream analysis in *The Wizard of Oz*, see Kristin Thompson, "Dorothy's Dream: Mindscreen in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939)," in *Film Moments: Criticism, History, Theory*, ed. James Walters and Tom Brown (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010), 149–51.

[44] Harmetz, "The Script(s)," 36.

[45] Although the most commercially successful musicals of the decade were escapist in nature, a large majority of these films had self-referential narratives that centred upon show business, and aptly took place in the urban entertainment centres of Broadway (New York) or Hollywood (Los Angeles). Birkett, "'The Merry Old Land of Oz'?: The Reception of the MGM Film," 128.

[46] "Escape, n.1," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed April 21, 2020, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64236.

may also be provided in forms of mass entertainment such as cinema. In relation to Hollywood's musical films, Dyer argues, "entertainment offers the image of something better to escape into, or something we want deeply that our day-to-day lives don't provide,"[47] which is exactly what characterized this vital understanding of escape. Underscored by a conscious escapist impulse, this type of escape directly engages with the celebrated yet complicated system of old Hollywood, in which dreams were not conjured in the unconscious mind of an individual, but instead manufactured by a dominant industry for audiences who could be temporarily immersed within the escapist narratives offered on-screen. Dorothy's escape into a land of wonderful illusions has been interpreted as an allegory for the industry under which it was produced, but "at the same time an exposé and a celebration of the Hollywood dream factory."[48] Therefore, by providing a brief history of the socioeconomic milieu of the 1930s in conjunction with Hollywood's authoritarian governing systems such as the Hays Production Code, I demonstrate how *The Wizard of Oz* offers a unique case for understanding how Hollywood's cinematic escapes were manufactured and perceived, as well as how *The Wizard of Oz* provides an escapist experience that ultimately allows its viewers to envision themselves in "a place where there isn't any trouble."[49]

Escape and Desire: Hollywood in the 1930s

The type of escape provided by Hollywood cinema is underlined by a conscious, manmade creation, and the equally conscious desires of its public to escape into its crafted cinematic spectacles. In the 1930s, Hollywood was coined as a dream factory, producing stories that in

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[47] Richard Dyer, "Entertainment and Utopia," in *Hollywood Musicals, The Film Reader*, ed. Steven Cohan (New York: Routledge, 2002), 20.
[48] Christopher Frayling, "Looking Behind the Wizard's Curtain," in *Hollywood Costume*, ed. Deborah Nadoolman Landis (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2013), 200.
[49] Noel Langley, Florence Ryerson, Edgar Allan Woolf, *The Wizard of Oz (1939): Continuity Script* (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street, 1939), 11.

many ways mirrored the unconscious longings of the masses.[50] Released at the end of the Great Depression, *The Wizard of Oz* is the product of the decade's artistic and technical endeavours. In this historical contextualization of its production, *The Wizard of Oz* will be viewed in how it fits within and diverges from the principles of Hollywood's so-called Golden Age, ultimately proving how the film performs as a near-perfect parable of Hollywood's manufactured escapes, and the ways in which audiences have reacted to them.

In the United States, the effects of the Depression caused a pervasive decrease in public morale throughout the 1930s that could be temporarily alleviated through accessible forms of mass entertainment.[51] With technical advancements such as three-strip Technicolor film, the establishment of film genres, and an increase in the number of films produced annually, going to the movies became a necessity throughout the 1930s.[52] Though they were costly to produce, motion pictures were guaranteed to be profitable; movie tickets were inexpensive, and theatres operated in towns all sizes, thereby allowing everyone to have access to Hollywood's array of glittering escapes in what would otherwise be a somber decade in American history. Indeed, as Margaret Thorp remarked in her survey on American film culture at the end of the decade, "movies are not only creating a hunger for art, they are making art for millions of Americans a necessary and natural part of life."[53]

As Hollywood realized the influence that it had over audiences in the 1930s, the industry developed new ways to broadcast escapism beyond the screen. For instance, the aesthetic model

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[50] Stephen Gundle, "The Hollywood Star System," in *Glamour: A History*, (Oxford University Press, 2009), 176.
[51] This is not to suggest, of course, that the difficulties of the Depression were not also felt in countries around the world that were affected by the economic disaster. Rather, I focus on the United States to emphasize the Depression's effects on its film industry.
[52] In 1939 alone, 510 feature films were produced by Hollywood's five major studios: MGM, Paramount, RKO Pictures, Twentieth Century Fox, and Warner Brothers. Hischak, Introduction, xi; Cathy Whitlock, "The Thirties," in *Hollywood Set Design* (New York: It Books, 2010), 61; For the advancements of colour in film, see also: Angela Dalle Vacche and Brian Price, eds., *Color: The Film Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
[53] Margaret F. Thorp, "The Vampire Art," in *America at the Movies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), 270.

of glamour that has become synonymous with Hollywood's Golden Age was established at this time. As early as the eighteenth century, glamour was associated with sorcery and enchantment, revealing why the American film industry would use the term to express its own version of magic.[54]

Coincidently, in the same year that *The Wizard of Oz* was released by MGM, Thorp provided the first formula for Hollywood glamour: "sex appeal plus luxury plus romance."[55] As Gundle argues, MGM marketed glamour as a commercial product more than any other studio.[56] However, not all of MGM's female stars were advertised as glamour girls who appealed to the sexualized desires outlined in Thorp's definition. There was also an affinity to the everyday girl (otherwise known as the girl next door) who displays wholesome, all-American values, typified in Garland's Dorothy. As a film marketed towards children and youth, *The Wizard of Oz* understandably diverges from the sexualized connotations of glamour, as expressed in this promotional interview with Garland: "The glamour girls and screen sophisticates had better look out for the Judy Garlands who bring us release, escape from world chaos, in the simplicity of pictures of adolescent youth. Judy and the rest of the youngsters are standing them in line at the box-office."[57] Here, Garland is separated from the opposing model of the Hollywood glamour girl, but her offering as Dorothy is arguably more valuable, as her common desire to escape to a better world is relatable to audiences of all ages. Additionally, many MGM musicals in the 1930s

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[54] Anne Massey, "The Jazz Age: American Ascendancy and the Debut of Deco," in *Hollywood Beyond the Screen: Design and Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 36.

[55] Thorp's definition is influenced by the then-emerging advent of fan magazines, such as *Glamour of Hollywood* (known today as *Glamour*), which also began circulation in 1939. In these magazines, articles targeted everyday women who borrowed beauty advice from Hollywood's leadings actresses and makeup artists. Thus, readers were invited to continue the escape beyond the movie house and into their everyday life, so they could attempt to emulate the fantasies they saw on-screen. Margaret F. Thorp, *America at the Movies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939), 65.

[56] Gundle, "The Hollywood Star System," 176.

[57] Mayme Ober Peake, "Judy Garland Comes into Her Own at Last!", manuscript, 1939, f.1405. Hedda Hopper papers, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

and onward are characterized by a romantic connection between a male and female lead; often an older male performer and a younger female ingenue. In *The Wizard of Oz*, however, the relationships portrayed are familial or platonic, not only establishing its attraction to younger audiences, but also to adult viewers whose interests may not have aligned with the romances portrayed in most other films.

Escape and Censorship: The Production Code

Along with glamour, the Hays Production Code (the Code) operated as another substantial invention of the Hollywood system in the 1930s that regulated the American film industry on both sides of the camera (fig. 16). Will Hays, Head of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA), drafted the Code in 1930 to provide the American film industry protection against third-party censorship, but four years later, the Code was intensified.[58] After this point, all films were required to go through multiple clearances before and after production. Once the MPPDA administered their stamp of approval, the film could be released.[59] As expressed in the first published copy of the Code in 1934: "No picture shall be produced which will lower the moral standards of those who see it. Hence the sympathy of the audience shall never be thrown to the side of crime, wrong-doing, evil or sin."[60] The Code's exhaustive list of forbidden topics include: illicit drug use, white slavery, miscegenation, complete nudity, and most significant for this study, sex perversion,[61] which would consequently erase expressions of

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[58] Russo, "Who's a Sissy? Homosexuality According to Tinseltown," 31.

[59] *The Wizard of Oz* was approved by the MPPDA on June 29, 1939, nearly two months before its North American theatrical release. Motion Picture Association of America, f.464. Hollywood office files, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

[60] "A Code to Govern the Making of Motion and Talking Pictures," Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Inc., June 13, 1934, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, http://digitalcollections.oscars.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15759coll11/id/10908.

[61] "Sex perversion or any inference to it is forbidden." This item is listed immediately after "Seduction or rape," and immediately before "White slavery" within category "II: SEX," in a full list of the Production Code's principles as of 1930. "A Code Regulating Production of Motion Pictures," *Exhibitors Herald World*, April 5, 1930, 12-13. Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

sexual relations that did not align with the heteronormative values of American audiences.[62] A censor review of an early script for *The Wizard of Oz* expresses a single concern on the grounds of sex perversion.[63] The term sissy, a reference to the Cowardly Lion, is viewed as a potential violation of the Code, but it remains in the final cut of the film in the song *If I Only Had the Nerve*, when the Lion sings: "Well it's sad believe me, missy / When you're born to be a sissy / Without the vim and verve / I'm afraid there's no denyin' / I'm just a dandelion / A fate I don't deserve."[64]

Although the Code proved to be a dependable device for filmmakers and audiences, it proves that the escape offered by the films produced in Hollywood would be just as controlled as the stars who were featured in them. Systematically restrictive, the Code mandated that any subject viewed as a threat to American values to be erased from the screen altogether. In a 1934 interview with *Motion Picture Herald*, filmmaker Cecil B. DeMille (1881-1959) claims that films must contain "normal sex:"[65]

> "Irregularities in sex likewise did not originate in Hollywood," said Mr. DeMille. "I seem to remember in the Bible a story about Sodom and Gomorrah and a lot of sex there." It is true that irregularities in sex did not originate in Hollywood, but the idea of what is called 'nance comedy'[66] for the screen did. And as for Sodom and Gomorrah, we seem to remember from that same Bible that they got hell and lots of it. They survive today only

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[62] Benshoff and Griffin, "Introduction: What is Queer Film History?" 9.

[63] A letter from MPPDA Director Joseph I. Breen to Louis B. Mayer addresses concern for certain scenes in a script for *The Wizard of Oz*: "In shooting this picture, particularly the scenes with the bad witch, care should be taken to avoid an effect which is too frightening to children. Our experience has shown that such frightening scenes may be deleted by political censor boards, or issuance of a permit for adults only. Objection to such scenes by parents may result in their refusing to let children see the picture [...] The use of the word 'sissy' on page 53, will probably be deleted by the British Censor Board." Joseph I. Breen, "The Wizard of Oz (1939)" Production Code Administration, September 26, 1938, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, http://digitalcollections.oscars.org/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15759coll30/id/17198/rec/.

[64] The Cowardly Lion's lack of courage is used as a device of comic relief throughout the film. As a result, his mannerisms are arguably the most effeminate of Dorothy's three companions. During the makeover scene in The Emerald City, the Lion is the only character, other than Dorothy, who is taken care of by a group of women and wears a perm with a red hairbow for the remainder of the film.

[65] Martin Quigley, "Dr. DeMille on Sex," *Motion Picture Herald*, August 11, 1934, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.

[66] Nance is a derogatory term used to describe homosexual men; an effeminate male. "Nance, n. and adj.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 17, 2020, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/124948.

> as two somewhat disagreeable words. We do not want Hollywood to become the name for something like that.[67]

Entrenched in Christian values, this interview attests to the homophobic attitudes of Hollywood, and the controls that its authorities put to action in the 1930s.[68] With this in mind, Hollywood – especially during this pivotal era – would not cater to the desires of everyone, and most definitely not to those who did not belong to the heterosexual majority.

When the policies created by the Code are critically observed, the idea of escape becomes complicated. Since all films of this period were produced under the shadow of the Code's discriminatory guidelines, the stories presented on-screen were limited, showing a specific, censored idea of what life could and should be. This problem incites an understanding to how individuals have forged alternative identifications and relationships to stories that did not represent them. *The Wizard of Oz* is a unique example of alternative spectator identification. As Tison Pugh states, Dorothy escapes to "a land where difference and deviation from the norm are the norm."[69] In its inclusive projection of fantasy, *The Wizard of Oz* mirrors the wishes of anyone who longs to escape from a society in which they are not accepted.

Still, the films produced by MGM and other film studios at this critical period continue to be inspiring examples of storytelling. It remains to be quite easy to fall under the spell of Hollywood's wizards of the past, but like Dorothy and her friends, the curtain must be pulled

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[67] Quigley, "Dr. DeMille on Sex."

[68] Pressure from religious groups were one of the central reasons for the enactment of the Code in 1934. The Catholic Church pressured the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (MPPDA) to enforce the Code among every Hollywood studio. Hays, MPPDA chairman, was a former Presbyterian elder, and the 1934 document was co-written by Jesuit priest, Father Daniel A. Lord. For more on the history of the Code, see Thomas Doherty, *Pre-Code Hollywood: Sex, Immorality, and Insurrection in American Cinema, 1930–1934* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

[69] Tison Pugh, "'There Lived in the Land of Oz Two Queerly Made Men': Queer Utopianism and Antisocial Eroticism in L. Frank Baum's Oz Books," in *Innocence, Heterosexuality, and the Queerness of Children's Literature*, Children's Literature and Culture (New York: Routledge, 2011), 21.

back in order to reveal the difficult histories of an industry that used – and in many ways, continues to use – its supremacy to conceal representations of those who were not given space to shine under the lights of the soundstage. Therefore, escape takes on an entirely new significance for individuals behind and beyond the camera who were – and in many cases, continue to be – as Russo argues, "submerged into the heterosexual, all-American fantasies of the majority."[70]

Escape and *The Wizard of Oz*: Beyond the Screen

It is at this juncture that *The Wizard of Oz* becomes an exceptional case for an alternative viewing of Hollywood's manufactured escapes. There are many characteristics of *The Wizard of Oz* that fit comfortably into Hollywood's ambitions for escapist desire and fantasy. Its use of Technicolor, equally vivid musical score, handcrafted sets, and whimsical costumes cumulatively express the apex of Hollywood's artistic output of the period. The desire to escape is universal, and the opportunities for one to escape into the worlds of cinema throughout the 1930s were abundant. Broadly, the movie house became a refuge from the everyday, where one could forget the troubles they faced in the throes of the Depression and enter the optimistic realms of Hollywood's illusionists.

Escape through cinema, however, becomes exceedingly crucial for those who were limited in the spaces in which they could freely express themselves and their desires.[71] As proven, the guidelines of the Code forbade representations of those on the margins, namely those who did not fit into the heterosexual majority. With this in mind, the movie theatre serves as a sanctuary of sorts, where it becomes possible to envision another life – a better, safer life – on the screen before them. *The Wizard of Oz* is one of the very few films of the 1930s that did not

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[70] Russo, "The Way We Weren't: The Invisible Years," 62-63.
[71] Michael Bronski, "Movies: Hollywood Homo-sense," in *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1984), 93. See also: Scott McKinnon, *Gay Men at the Movies* (Bristol: Intellect Ltd., 2016).

cry out for the obligation of conventional romance.[72] Most importantly, *The Wizard of Oz* portrays a world where difference is not only accepted but celebrated and normalized without hesitation. Dorothy befriends three misfits who could be interpreted as queer because of their difference. Their missing pieces (a brain, a heart, courage, and home) identify them as an allegory for a queer family or a queer community. As Halberstam would suggest, by the characters' failure to conform to normality – further accentuated by their existence in a fantastical land – they also inadvertently express queer messages of resistance: through working together, their goals can be realized despite their adversity.[73] In its crucially optimistic display of fantasy, *The Wizard of Oz* creates a space where outsiders can feel welcomed. As Dyer writes:

> We go to see the films, for the spectacle of Oz, of big production numbers, of romantic moments. Garland is the personal initially outside all this and as taken with it a we are; she enters the spectacle and becomes part of it, as we in our absorption in the dark may. […] Garland can be the representation of the desire to live in the movies, because she is herself an ordinary person who escapes into the magic of films.[74]

Dorothy escapes into a world that is absolutely unconventional, while retaining the glitter and gloss of contemporaneous Hollywood productions. If Dorothy can dream an alternative world for herself, then anyone who watches *The Wizard of Oz* may escape into its magic, even if only temporarily.

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[72] Hannah Robbins, "Friends of Dorothy," in *Adapting* The Wizard of Oz,143.
[73] Jack Halberstam, "Introduction: Low Theory," in *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 21.
[74] Dyer, "Judy Garland and Gay Men," 164.

II: TRANSFORMATION

"It's always best to start at the beginning, and all you do is follow the Yellow Brick Road."
— Glinda the Good Witch of the North, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939)

Upon her departure towards the Emerald City, the seemingly effortless command for Dorothy to follow the Yellow Brick Road proves to be far more complicated than it appears. Like most paths, Dorothy's is filled with surprises and crossroads, troubles and obstacles. As Ahmed argues, a divergence from a path well-trodden, "makes new futures possible, which might involve going astray, getting lost, or even becoming queer."[75] Accordingly, this section diverges from the straight and narrow and considers how *The Wizard of Oz* has developed into an important film for queer spectators.[76] If Hollywood cinema is considered to be "one of the queerest things ever invented"[77] despite the anti-queer systems revealed in the previous section, how did *The Wizard of Oz* transform from a mainstream classic to one that has become so admired from the margins by queer audiences? By providing attention to the film's long-held reception amongst queer spectators, I investigate the film's signifiers to the queer community in order to understand how artists have utilized this facet of its legacy to speak to queer sexualities, genders, and lived experiences.[78] Looking first to the Ruby Slippers as a material catalyst for the film's transformed meaning, I then investigate works of art that engage with Judy Garland's status as a queer icon, including Soda Jerk's experimental video *After the Rainbow* (2009), which

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[75] Sara Ahmed, "Orientations," 554.
[76] Benshoff and Griffin, "'Those Wonderful People Out There in the Dark': Queer Audiences and Classical Hollywood Cinema," 68-69.
[77] Ellis Hanson, ed., "Introduction," in *Out Takes: Essays on Queer Theory and Film*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 19.
[78] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, Baum's novels have also been interpreted as queer utopias. For an analysis of the *Oz* novels and their implications of queerness, as well as sexual and gender identities, see: Tison Pugh, "'There Lived in the Land of Oz Two Queerly Made Men': Queer Utopianism and Antisocial Eroticism in L. Frank Baum's Oz Books," in *Innocence, Heterosexuality, and the Queerness of Children's Literature*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 61–82.

queers the narrative of Garland's life by recycling footage from her performances. Taking a political turn, I acknowledge how *The Wizard of Oz* has been appropriated in the visual culture of queer-focused activism, from ACT UP posters to Carl Grauer's *The Deposition* (2019), a painterly tribute to the Stonewall Uprising and subsequent gay liberation movement.

When analyzing the histories of objects, artworks, people, or films, queer theory allows for an expansive understanding of identifications, receptions, and transformations. Although *The Wizard of Oz* was not produced with queer spectators in mind, it has become an affirmative cultural touchpoint of queer identification through coded signifiers and sensibilities.[79] Queer theory suggests that the self-identification of an object of study becomes less relevant than how it comes to be identified by others. This peripheral identification has encouraged a transformation of the film's legacy, and these alternative identifications have proven *The Wizard of Oz* to be a common point of departure for queer-focused artistic production.

The Ruby Slippers

As Dorothy begins her quest towards the Emerald City, the Ruby Slippers glimmer and sparkle as she takes her first steps along the Yellow Brick Road (fig. 17), so it is only fitting that they will be used to initiate this section's investigation. Here, the Ruby Slippers will be used to establish the theoretical groundwork for how the film has been transformed into a queer cultural phenomenon, and also as a material conduit to analyze the works of art that engage with this aspect of the film's legacy.[80] In the years following the release of *The Wizard of Oz*, the Ruby Slippers have become not only one of the most memorable objects from the film, but to the

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[79] Brett Farmer, "Something A Little Strange: Theorizing Gay Male Spectatorships, in *Spectacular Passions: Cinema, Fantasy, Gay Male Spectatorships* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 48.

[80] The slippers were silver in Baum's novel, and were changed to ruby to showcase Technicolor's capabilities in screenwriter Noel Langley's "DO NOT MAKE CHANGES" script, dated May 14, 1938, on page 25, shot 114: "The ruby shoes appear on Dorothy's feet, glittering and sparkling in the sun." Harmetz, "The Script(s)," 41.

history of Hollywood costume design altogether.[81] As Appadurai argues, an object's value can be determined by the meanings attributed to it by a society or individual.[82] Due to their prominence, the meaning of the Ruby Slippers has become more complex than originally intended, especially for their affiliations to queer culture. This can be observed in the June 2020 cover of *Entertainment Weekly*, which features an array of LGBTQ+ celebrities for Pride Month, a Ruby Slipper appears on top of a grand piano in between RuPaul and Sir Elton John (fig. 18). To comprehend how this transformation of meaning came to be, it is essential to start at the beginning of their path.

Designed by Gilbert Adrian (1903-1959), the Ruby Slippers were not likely intended to be a queer object, nor an object so closely associated to queer culture (fig. 19).[83] However, like the film, the meaning of the Ruby Slippers has been transformed by virtue of their identification as queer by their spectators through an proclivity to insert queer desires and aesthetics into otherwise normative cultural objects.[84] This transformation does not suggest that queer spectators who have identified with the Ruby Slippers have accepted their cultural value in the same way that its majoritarian industry intended. Rather, queer, minoritarian groups have transformed the significance of the Ruby Slippers to see something beyond their face value, ultimately going against their intended meaning to claim them instead as a queer object. To counter-identify with mainstream objects, one must follow a process of disidentification. As Muñoz describes: "To

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[81] Frayling, "Looking Behind the Wizard's Curtain," 200.
[82] Arjun Appadurai, ed., "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, 11th edition (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 5.
[83] Adrian is recorded to have produced 3210 costume sketches for *The Wizard of Oz*, the most extensive of his career. Howard Gutner, "The Advent of Adrian at MGM," in *Gowns by Adrian: The MGM Years, 1928-1941* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001), 62.
[84] Adrian was known for designing costumes for actresses throughout his career in Hollywood, so much so that he is often credited with the moniker "Gowns by Adrian" in his films. Indeed, Adrian's affinity to create garments for women has placed him within the all-too-familiar stereotype of the homosexual costume/fashion designer. However, it is not my aim to speculate on Adrian's sexual identity. It is too simplistic, disrespectful, and problematic to suggest that Adrian's work within *The Wizard of Oz* is queer simply because he may have been.

disidentify is to read oneself and one's own life narrative in a moment, object, or subject that is not culturally coded to 'connect' with the disidentifying subject."[85] It is a survival strategy, or a necessity to find a connection to an object within a society that suppresses its subject or viewer. The Ruby Slippers can also be read as a queer object through their materiality, especially their sequined façade. Maffei and Fisher argue that a viewer determines their relationship to an object through its surface before any other attributes, and there is something certainly spectacular in the eye-catching, glimmering surfaces of the sequined footwear.[86] Their dazzling effects of light can be read a material affirmation of Sedgwick's universalizing, non-fixed view of sexuality.[87] As a material, sequins are as non-fixed and unstable as Sedgwick's view of sexuality also suggests. Their perpetual reflection of light creates an illusion that looks as though they are in constant motion, even in stillness.[88] Thus, in their glittering surfaces alone, the Ruby Slippers can be classified within a multifaceted view of sexual identity; one that is in constant flux and perpetually performative.[89]

The Ruby Slippers also belong to the camp aesthetic. Although impossible to define singularly, camp is a mode of aestheticism that deviates from what is conventionally tasteful.[90] This also makes camp an inherently queer phenomenon.[91] First, the Ruby Slippers are camp

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[85] Muñoz, "Introduction," 12.
[86] Nicolas Maffei and Tom Fisher, "Historicizing Shininess in Design: Finding Meaning in an Unstable Phenomenon," *Journal of Design History* 26 (September 19, 2013): 231.
[87] Sedgwick, "Introduction: Axiomatic,", 1.
[88] Maffei and Fisher, "Historicizing Shininess in Design," 232.
[89] Sequins continue to carry a significance within queer communities for their regular use in outfits for drag performances, burlesque shows, Pride parades, and other forms of queer culture, style, and nightlife. Laura Dorwart, "A Look Inside the Fascinating History of Glitter and Gay Culture," *Byrdie*, December 16, 2019, https://www.byrdie.com/history-of-glitter.
[90] For formative work on the camp aesthetic, see Christopher Isherwood, *The World in the Evening* (New York: Random House, 1954) and Susan Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp,'" *Partisan Review* 31, no. 4 (1964): 515–30.
[91] Halperin, "The Queer Politics of Michel Foucault," 62.

because they exude artifice.[92] As Susan Sontag writes, "camp art is often decorative art, emphasizing texture, sensuous surface, and style at the expense of content," while Fabio Cleto aptly views camp as "an enigmatic prism, a gemstone whose facets cast an evanescent stage for reflection and refraction, its instability and semiotic excess representing its ultimate value."[93] In their artful construction, the Ruby Slippers effectively provide an illusion of richness, of magic, when in actuality, they are store-bought pumps whose surfaces are embellished with synthetic fibres, plastic sequins, rhinestones, and beads.[94] Of course, their name alone ironically suggests that they are composed of precious gemstones. Second, the Ruby Slippers are camp because, despite their "fun and artifice and elegance," they hold, as Isherwood would suggest, "an underlying seriousness."[95] In the film, the Ruby Slippers are the primary source of conflict between Dorothy and the Wicked Witch of the West. As a result of the Witch's desire to have them for herself, Dorothy is captured, but because of their power, the Witch is unable to remove them from Dorothy's feet (fig. 20). The Ruby Slippers are not only an essential plot device, but their seriousness is now also linked to the memory of their wearer, and their unintended but profound and everlasting symbolism within queer culture.

As a material object, the Ruby Slippers in *The Wizard of Oz* carry a complex legacy that reaches far beyond their original intentions. Like the film, the cultural value of the Ruby Slippers

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[92] I would be remiss not to suggest that *The Wizard of Oz*, as a whole, is a camp film for many similar reasons as the Ruby Slippers are a camp object. Included among the film's many campy qualities are its blatantly artificial sets and whimsical costumes, as well as its musicality and fantastical setting. For more the camp aesthetic in MGM musicals, see Steven Cohan, *Incongruous Entertainment: Camp, Cultural Value, and the MGM Musical* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).

[93] Fabio Cleto, "The Spectacles of Camp," in *Camp: Notes on Fashion*, 13.

[94] Janet G. Douglas et al., "Materials Characterization of the Ruby Slippers from the 1939 Classic Film, *The Wizard of Oz*," *Heritage Science* 6, no. 1 (November 7, 2018): 2.

[95] Isherwood, extract from *The World in the Evening*. In Fabio Cleto, ed., *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader*, Triangulations (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 51. Reprinted from Isherwood, *The World in the Evening* (New York: Random House, 1954).

has been reclaimed to speak to a multifaceted understanding of queer identity. The Ruby Slippers provide a foundation for how *The Wizard of Oz* has been appropriated as a point of departure for queer-focused artistic production. Therefore, each of the visual materials observed in this section can be considered as a sequin on the Ruby Slippers, individually shining, reflecting, and travelling on a journey towards the unintentional queer afterlife of *The Wizard of Oz*.

Judy Garland (1922-1969)

In the August 18, 1967 issue of *Time* magazine, a critic describes Garland's concert engagement at the Palace Theatre in New York City, writing:

> Curiously, a disproportionate part of her nightly claque seems to be homosexual. The boys in the tight trousers roll their eyes, tear at their hair and practically levitate from their seats, particularly when Judy sings: *If happy little bluebirds fly / Beyond the rainbow / Why, oh why can't I?"*[96]

Garland is widely considered as "the quintessential pre-Stonewall gay icon."[97] Personal struggles and intermittent professional comebacks gradually ostracized Garland from the industry that created her, and closer to the end of her life, she was considered unemployable due to her erratic behaviour.[98] Despite this, Garland performed a persevered, resilient attitude that was identifiable with a community before gay liberation. Before the Stonewall Uprising and the beginning of the gay liberation movement, gays were isolated from a society that hesitated to champion them, if at all. As Halperin argues, Garland "somehow gave voice to gay men's unspeakable longings without enunciating them."[99] Although gay male adoration of Garland and other female

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[96] "Séance at the Palace," *Time*, August 18, 1967.
[97] Bronski, "Hollywood Homo-Sense," 104.
[98] For an in-depth biography of Garland's life and career, see Gerald Clarke, *Get Happy: The Life of Judy Garland* (New York: Delta, 2001); In the Academy Award-winning feature film *Judy* (2019), Garland's excommunication from Hollywood prompts her to take up a residency at the Talk of the Town nightclub in London, England in 1968, months before her death. Rupert Goold, *Judy* (Pathé, BBC Films, Calamity Films, 2019).
[99] Halperin, "Judy Garland Versus Identity Act," in *How To Be Gay* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 409.

celebrities of the period has been criticized in feminist scholarship, it must be remembered that this idolization existed in a time when there were no out gay men in the public eye to identify with in the first place.[100] As observed in the concert review, gay men could safely and emotionally identify with Garland on an profound level of intimacy, and better yet, in public space (fig. 21). Below, a fan describes the mood of a Garland concert at De Montfort Hall in Leicester, England, in 1960:

> I should think every queen in the east Midlands catchment area had made it… everyone had put on their Sunday best, had haircuts [sic] and bought new ties. There was an exuberance, a liveliness, a community of feeling which was quite new to me and probably quite rare anyway then. It was as if the fact that we had gathered to see Garland gave us permission to be gay in public for once.[101]

In approaching the film's place within queer-focused artistic production, Garland's affiliation with *The Wizard of Oz* is arguably the most essential. I focus mainly on Garland's presence within *The Wizard of Oz*, although her attachments to the queer community extend far beyond her role as Dorothy. Nevertheless, Garland's voyage over the proverbial rainbow is where her queer veneration begins. An allusion to her companions along the Yellow Brick Road, the queer-coded euphemism "Friend of Dorothy" began to be used between gay servicemen to identify one another upon returning to American soil after WWII.[102] In *Friends of Dorothy* (2017) by Carl Grauer, the artist engages with this expression by depicting an embrace between the Scarecrow and the Tin Man (fig. 22), and a 1982 greeting card produced by Rockshots humorously shows a shocked Dorothy as she enters a gay bar (fig. 23). Additionally, "best Judy" or "good Judy" are

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[100] Pamela Robertson problematizes gay men's adoration, as well as the consequent appropriation and objectification of Hollywood actresses, including Garland, Barbra Streisand, Marlene Dietrich, Greta Garbo, and Joan Crawford. Robertson, "What Makes the Feminist Camp?", in *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader*, 266-282; Garland's specialty as a singer strengthened her attraction to gay admirers. For further reading on the gay attachment to female vocalists, see Wayne Koestenbaum, *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire* (New York: Poseidon Press, 1993).

[101] Letter to author, in Dyer, "Judy Garland and Gay Men," 140.

[102] Randy Shilts, "Surrender Dorothy," in *Conduct Unbecoming: Lesbians and Gays in the U.S. Military: Vietnam to the Persian Gulf*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 387.

terms of endearment that continue to be used between gay friends.[103] Through her representation in works of art that focus on *The Wizard of Oz*, I demonstrate how this aspect of Garland's life is both celebrated and critiqued in the contexts of queer histories and cultural production. Of course, investigating every work of art that uses Garland's likeness is beyond the scope of this thesis (figs 24-27).[104] The examples within this section focus on her role in *The Wizard of Oz* in alignment with the objective of understanding how the film's value had been transformed in queer culture.

Garland's legacy as a performer is critically investigated in *After the Rainbow* (2009), an experimental video by art collective Soda_Jerk (Dan and Dominique Angeloro). The six-minute, two-channel video begins with Dorothy/Garland as she runs from home and happens upon Professor Marvel (the Kansas counterpart to The Wizard).[105] At this point, the footage becomes disturbed with overlaid decay, scratching, and burning, indicating the materiality of the film celluloid, and conceptually suggesting that the narrative is about to shift (fig. 28).[106] As the glitching subsides, Dorothy/Garland hits her head on her bedroom window and falls unconscious, waking up in the eye of the cyclone. Upon waking up, she is presented with cinematic versions of herself in *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944) (fig. 29) and *Easter Parade* (1948)

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[103] An episode of the reality competition television series *RuPaul's Drag Race All Stars* featured an homage to Garland's significance as a queer icon. Along with their best friends, or best Judies, contestants dressed in Garland-inspired outfits while lip-syncing to her music. *RuPaul's Drag Race All Stars*. "RuPaul's Best Judy's Race." S4E8. Directed by Nick Murray. Logo TV. February 1, 2019.

[104] See for example: Dawn Mellor, *Judy Garland* (2007) (fig. 24) and *Cigarette Dream Dorothy* (2008) (fig. 25); Donald Urquhart, *A Judy Garland Alphabet* (2005) (fig. 26) and Andy Warhol, *Blackglama (Judy Garland)* (1985) (fig. 27).

[105] In the Kansas scenes, Professor Marvel is a travelling conman who Dorothy meets when she runs away from home. Marvel invites her into his wagon where he fraudulently gazes into his crystal ball, reads her fortune, and insists that Dorothy return home, just as the tornado touches down. Marvel is the Kansas counterpart of The Wizard.

[106] Michael Betancourt, "The Heritage of Materialist Media," in *Glitch Art in Theory and Practice: Critical Failures and Post-Digital Aesthetics* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 50.

(fig. 30).[107] The house lands, and as Dorothy/Garland opens the door to what would be Munchkinland, her youthful innocence becomes troubled when she is confronted with an older version of herself: Garland, the veteran performer (fig. 31). Taken from existing footage of a 1962 television special, *Judy, Frank & Dean*, a forty year-old, sequin-clad Garland sings "The Man That Got Away" with lyrics that contrast with the hopeful tones of "Over the Rainbow": "The night is bitter / The stars have lost their glitter / The winds grow colder / Suddenly you're older / The dreams you've dreamed have all gone astray." Following this, the older Garland fades from view, and Dorothy/Garland retreats to her Kansas bedroom through a rewinding of footage. When Dorothy/Garland opens her door for a second time, she sees herself running towards the Kansas farm, taken from the opening scene of *The Wizard of Oz*, and the video is looped (fig. 32).

After the Rainbow ascribes new meaning to Garland's legacy. Halperin proposes that Garland's performances uniquely express power and vulnerability, or, as Dyer similarly suggests, a blend of strength and suffering.[108] In *After the Rainbow*, these qualities are challenged when the two Garlands encounter one another. Dorothy/Garland epitomizes youthful normality and innocence, whereas the older Garland embodies the resilience that would establish her adoration amongst gay fans.[109] As Ross argues, Garland's "struggle between the role of self-destructive loser and resilient, irrepressible fighter took on a parable-like significance of a gay culture increasingly in search of overt rather than heavily coded forms of identification."[110] This

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[107] In the film, Dorothy wakes up in the eye of the cyclone and encounters a series of figures floating outside of her window: a cow, a chicken coop, two men in a rowboat, a woman knitting, and finally, Miss Gulch who then transforms into a cackling, broom-wielding witch.
[108] Halperin, "Judy Garland Versus Identity Act," 405; Dyer, "Judy Garland and Gay Men," 145.
[109] After 1950 (the year she was released from her contract at MGM), Garland would become more identifiable for queer spectators, namely due to the heightened vulnerability in her performances. Dyer, "Judy Garland and Gay Men," 139.
[110] Ross, "Uses of Camp," 160.

is observed as Garland sings "The Man That Got Away" in the performance selected by Soda_Jerk. Her voice trembles and soars, her hands stretch inward and outward, and her powdered face contorts as she attempts – and succeeds – to belt each note. Here, Garland's unique stage presence expresses a fusion of what Babuscio claims as the four characteristics of camp: theatricality, humour, aestheticism, and irony.[111] In contrast, however, Dorothy/Garland is plain and innocent. Thus, when she witnesses her older self, she cries as a reaction to the song's heartbreaking lyrics, but most importantly because she grows apprehensive of the troubled legend she will become, and so she is given a second chance when the video loops.

Those familiar with Garland's life will know of her untimely death and the difficulties she faced in her final years, but neither of the two Garlands depicted in the work are aware of this fate. With this in mind, there is not only a sense of dramatic irony in *After the Rainbow*, but also a tension between cinema as a site of performativity (Garland playing a role) and as a means of recording reality (Garland's body in front of the camera).[112] To borrow Dyer's theory, *After the Rainbow* effectively blurs Garland's star-image with her lived reality.[113]

The manipulation of recycled footage in *After the Rainbow* also disrupts the conventions of Hollywood storytelling, thereby engaging with queer notions of time, or what is referred to in queer scholarship as queer temporality.[114] For Jack Halberstam, "queer temporality disrupts the

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[111] Jack Babuscio, "Camp and the Gay Sensibility," in *Gays and Film*, ed. Richard Dyer, Rev. ed. (New York: New York Zoetrope, Inc., 1984), 41.
[112] Soda_Jerk, email correspondence with the author, March 26, 2020.
[113] Dyer argues that a star-image is not how a celebrity carries him or herself in their films, but rather how their films are promoted through advertising, public appearances, interviews, and press coverage. This creates a second identity – a star-image – of a celebrity that expands from their screened representations. Dyer, "Introduction," *Heavenly Bodies*, 2-3.
[114] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, recent queer scholarship has opened up the field to engage with specificities of queer temporalities. See for example: Christopher Castiglia and Christopher Reed, *If Memory Serves: Gay Men, AIDS, and the Promise of the Queer Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010); Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, (New York University Press,

normative narratives of time that form the base of nearly every definition of the human in almost all of our modes of understanding,"[115] including, of course, the narratives in popular cinema. In dealing with queer temporality, *After the Rainbow* expands the possibilities for understanding Garland's complex and enduring legacy within queer culture.[116]

On June 22, 1969, Garland passed away from an accidental barbiturate overdose at the age of forty-seven in her London home.[117] Garland's untimely death sparked a substantial shift in how she and her life's work would become associated with queer culture and history. By day's end on June 26, 1969, over 15 000 public mourners – including "weeping young men" as described in the *New York Times* – paid their respects to Garland at Frank E. Campbell Funeral Home in New York City, with her funeral taking place the next day.[118] In the early morning hours of June 28, patrons at the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in New York's Greenwich Village, were confronted with a police raid that prompted a series of protests and demonstrations, and as Cruikshank suggests, a "symbolic end to victim status."[119] The Stonewall Uprising (also known as the Stonewall Riots or the Stonewall Rebellion) would unofficially mark the beginning of the gay liberation movement in the United States.[120] Claims made to suggest, however, that

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2005); José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York University Press, 2009).

[115] Halberstam, "What's That Smell? Queer Temporalities and Subcultural Lives," in *In a Queer Time and Place*, 152.

[116] Tara Mateik's video- and performance-based series, *There's No Place* (2009-2015) prioritizes queer temporalities by intervening with the legacies of Baum's novels through its popular adaptations, namely *The Wizard of Oz* and *The Wiz*.

[117] "Judy Garland, 47, Found Dead: Judy Garland, 47, Star of Stage and Screen, Is Found Dead in Her London Home," *New York Times*, June 23, 1969.

[118] Bernard Weinraub, "Thousands Line Up to View Judy Garland's Body," *New York Times*, June 27, 1969.

[119] Cruikshank, "Gay and Lesbian Liberation as a Political Movement," 71.

[120] For recent books on the Stonewall Uprising and subsequent gay and queer rights movements in the United States, see David Carter, *Stonewall: The Riots That Sparked the Gay Revolution*, (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 2010; Martin Duberman, *Stonewall: The Definitive Story of the LGBTQ Rights Uprising That Changed America*, Rev. ed. (New York: Plume, 2019); Marc Stein, ed., *The Stonewall Riots: A Documentary History* (New York University Press, 2019); Matthew Riemer and Leighton Brown, *We Are Everywhere: Protest, Power, and Pride in the History of Queer Liberation* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 2019).

Garland's death directly contributed to the occurrences at Stonewall are clouded in speculation.[121] For example, the only report published in 1969 that suggests Garland's connection to the events at Stonewall appears in the opening sentence of a scornful article by Walter T. Spencer in *The Village Voice*: "The combination of a full moon and Judy Garland's funeral was too much for them, Dick Neuweiler said the other day, assessing the cause of the Great Faggot Rebellion."[122] The demeaning tone of Spencer's article illustrates the attitudes of a time before gay liberation. Nevertheless, the coincidental timing of the Uprising and Garland's funeral would only add to how she continues to be venerated in queer culture. In recent years, a replica of the gingham dress that Garland wore as Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz* has hung in the front window of the Stonewall Inn as an homage to her indirect connection to the momentous events within (fig. 33).[123]

The Wizard of Oz and Queer Activism

Painted in commemoration of the Stonewall Uprising's fiftieth anniversary, American artist Carl Grauer uses the coincidental timing between Garland's death and Stonewall to speak to the ongoing battle for LGBTQ+ rights in the United States.[124] In *The Deposition* (2019), modeled after Rogier van der Weyden's fifteenth-century painting of the same name (a.k.a. *The Descent from the Cross*) (fig. 34), Grauer inserts Dorothy and her three companions in a state of mourning to suggest their allyship and ongoing connections to queer culture (fig. 35).[125] If the compositions between Grauer and van der Weyden are compared, it can be determined that, from

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[121] David Deitcher, ed. "In Their Own Words," in *The Question of Equality: Lesbian and Gay Politics in America since Stonewall* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 72.
[122] Walter T. Spencer, "Too Much My Dear," *The Village Voice*, July 10, 1969, 36.
[123] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, I would be remiss not to acknowledge that drag queens and other queer performers prevalently pay tribute to Garland in nightclubs, bars, and other queer performance venues.
[124] *The Deposition* was exhibited among portraits of LGBTQ+ activists in Grauer's *The Lavender Temple of Their Most Fabulous* series at Carrie Haddad Gallery in Hudson, NY (June 12-July 28, 2019).
[125] Carl Grauer, interview with the author, FaceTime, December 11, 2019.

left to right, the Scarecrow takes the position of Mary Cleophas, the Tin Man replaces St. John the Evangelist, and the weeping Dorothy takes the place of the Virgin Mary. Behind Dorothy, the Cowardly Lion is positioned in lieu of St. Mary Salome. In the centre of the composition, and as its clear focal point, the Statue of Liberty appears lifeless, indicating clearly that Lady Liberty takes the position of the crucified Jesus Christ. It is also at this midpoint in Grauer's painting where the composition's figures are split between the fictional characters from *The Wizard of Oz* and real-life activists and leaders of the gay and transgender liberation movement that, as mentioned, is considered to have been initiated with the Stonewall Uprising.[126] Standing behind Lady Liberty is lesbian performer and activist Stormé DeLarverie (1920-2014) in lieu of Nicodemus in van der Weyden's painting. Trans activist Sylvia Rivera (1951-2002) supports Lady Liberty's left arm from one of the bottom rungs of the ladder, taking the place of a servant in the original. In the position of Joseph of Arimathea and draped in the same black-and-gold robe is Miss Major Griffin-Gracy (1940-), a prominent activist in the movement for trans rights. Standing behind a police blockade on the far right of Grauer's composition is trans activist, entertainer, and co-founder of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), Marsha P. Johnson (1945-1992), located in lieu of Mary Magdalene.[127]

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[126] DeLarverie, Griffin-Gracy, Johnson, and Rivera are among the leading activists of the gay liberation movement in the United States who were also present at the Stonewall Uprising. As trans and queer women of colour, their leadership carries an ongoing significance in the fight for queer rights that is sometimes overshadowed by white activist histories. After Stonewall, they participated in a variety of advocacy groups under the Gay Liberation Front (GLF). Johnson and Rivera co-founded the Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), a New York City-based advocacy organization that provided housing and support for homeless queer youth and sex workers from 1970-1973. For more on STAR, see Leslie Feinberg, "Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries," Workers World, September 24, 2006, https://www.workers.org/2006/us/lavender-red-73/.

[127] This figure identification of *The Descent from the Cross* is taken from art historian Lorne Campbell's analysis. See: Campbell, "The New Pictorial Language of Rogier van der Weyden," in *Rogier van der Weyden: 1400-1464: Master of Passions*, ed. Jan van der Stock and Lorne Campbell (Leuven: Waanders, 2009), 2–64.

Grauer's decision to appropriate a canonical painting from Christian tradition is significant, as it proposes a religious, spiritual, and even holy subtext to the histories of gay liberation, and the ongoing battles for queer and trans rights. As Grauer states:

> Where we are politically right now, I really wanted to focus on a) trans rights, and b) the aspect of political turmoil that's going on right now, and how we're facing potential discrimination again where our rights could be stripped away from us. I wanted to have trans figures that were at Stonewall and put them in the setting as a reminder that the fight for all of our rights is not over. The battle is still needed.[128]

Five decades after Stonewall, LGBTQ+ rights continue to be threatened. Recent governmental actions including the transgender military ban and workplace discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual identity are two examples of how queer and trans lives continue to be jeopardized.[129] Grauer also includes the same iconography of the skull and bones as van der Weyden in the foreground of *The Deposition*, implying the very real concerns of death and violence that continue to harm the LGBTQ+ community throughout the United States, especially Black, Brown, and Latinx transfeminine individuals.[130] The allusion to a federal government that is not on the side of the LGBTQ+ community is suggested further within the work's setting. In contrast to van der Weyden's ambiguous gold background, Grauer situates the figures in a natural landscape. In the far distance, the architectural landmarks of National Mall reach into a sky that features the Wicked Witch's sky-written message from the film, "Surrender Dorothy," (fig. 36) signifying the equally menacing acts that have been put forward by the current administration.[131]

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[128] Grauer, interview, 2019.
[129] Lola Fadulu and Annie Flanagan, "Trump's Rollback of Transgender Rights Extends Through Entire Government," *The New York Times*, December 6, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/06/us/politics/trump-transgender-rights.html; Alejandro De La Garza, "Trump Administration Asks Supreme Court to Legalize Workplace Discrimination Against Gay Employees," *Time*, August 25, 2019, https://time.com/5660956/trump-administration-anti-gay-brief-title-vii/.
[130] Alexis Dinno, "Homicide Rates of Transgender Individuals in the United States: 2010–2014," *American Journal of Public Health* 107, no. 9 (September 2017): 1441–47.
[131] Grauer, interview, 2019.

Grauer's work echoes earlier samples of visual activism in which imagery from *The Wizard of Oz* was used in solidarity with queer rights during the HIV and AIDS epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s.[132] The epidemic, as Cruikshank suggests, "made homophobia more acceptable than it used to be."[133] Consequently, the resulting surge of hate against the gay community motivated the gay liberation movement to take centre stage. On Halloween 1989, members from various New York City-based activist groups, including the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), Housing Works, and the Majority Action Committee (MAC) protested outside of Trump Tower in opposition of the city's decision to give tax breaks for former real estate mogul and incumbent president.[134] In a photograph from the protest, ACT UP member Ronny Viggiani dresses as Dorothy and holds a "Surrender Donald" sign to express solidarity with the then-rising issue of homelessness among those living with HIV and AIDS (fig. 37).[135] A series of posters, also produced by ACT UP, were used in rallies in the 1990s that fought for HIV and AIDS education as well as public health funding (figs 38-41).[136] Political leaders take on the likenesses of characters from *The Wizard of Oz*, and they are accompanied by song lyrics or quotations said by the corresponding character.[137]

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[132] For further reading on the HIV and AIDS epidemic, see: Christopher Castiglia and Christopher Reed, *If Memory Serves: Gay Men, AIDS, and the Promise of the Queer Past* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Douglas A. Feldman and Julia Wang Miller, eds., *The AIDS Crisis: A Documentary History*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).

[133] Cruikshank, "Introduction," 12.

[134] Stephen Vider, "Surrender Donald! A Queer Call to Action Since 1989," *Slate*, December 1, 2016, https://slate.com/human-interest/2016/12/an-act-up-protest-of-donald-trump-in-1989-shows-how-queers-recognized-his-danger-early-on.html.

[135] For further reading on the correlation between HIV and AIDS patients and homelessness during the epidemic, see Feldman and Wang, "The Homeless," in *The AIDS Crisis: A Documentary History*, 97-102.

[136] These posters were displayed in the exhibition *Why We Fight: Remembering AIDS Activism* at The New York Public Library from October 4, 2013-April 6, 2014. The exhibition title derives from a speech by queer activist and writer, Vito Russo. "Why We Fight: Remembering AIDS Activism," The New York Public Library, accessed February 18, 2020, https://www.nypl.org/events/exhibitions/why-we-fight/more; Brett Berk, "'Why We Fight: Remembering AIDS Activism'—A New Exhibit at the New York Public Library," Vanity Fair, October 4, 2013, https://www.vanityfair.com/culture/2013/10/why-we-fight-aids-activism-public-library./

[137] Former President Bill Clinton (1946-) is portrayed as the Cowardly Lion (fig. 37); then-mayor of New York City Rudy Giuliani (1944-) takes the place of the Tin Man (fig. 38); the Scarecrow's face is replaced with George

Substituting the politicians' faces with the film's familiar characters display a humorous tone that characterizes these posters as camp. Babuscio argues that camp's humour functions as a "means of dealing with a hostile environment, and, in the process, of defining a positive identity."[138] In their humour and satire, the posters express a strong establishment of identity that is inherently political.[139] Although Sontag claimed camp to be apolitical in her formative essay, many scholars have challenged what she fails to address. As Ross points out, if camp is political, it proposes to work "with and through existing definitions and representations, and in this respect, it is opposed to the search for alternative, utopian, or essentialist identities which lay behind many of the counter cultural and sexual liberation movements." With this in mind, camp is also a coping mechanism – a survival strategy – for dealing with the shame and self-hatred within the gay community before the liberation movement began to take shape.[140] If self-expression and identity is endemic to camp, then it exists as a powerful political device, even if quietly so. As examples of the visual culture of queer activism, the ACT UP posters appropriate mainstream imagery in order to voice the concerns of marginalized groups. Upon first glance, these posters may be lighthearted. Nevertheless, their appropriation of popular imagery allows their message to be communicated effectively.

In a manner that goes far beyond the intentions of the film's creators, *The Wizard of Oz* has become a liberating pillar of queer culture, history, activism, and artistic production. Like

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Pataki's (1945-), former New York governor (fig. 39); and former Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich (1943-), dons the black cloak of the Wicked Witch of the West (fig. 40). Respectively, the texts read: "I'd fight AIDS if I only had the courage," "I'd fight AIDS if I only had a heart," "I'd fight AIDS if I only had a brain," and "I'll get you my pretty and your T-cells too!" Correspondingly, the versos read: "Bill: Support AIDS Cure Project,"[137] "Teach Safe Sex in Schools," "Pataki: Medicaid Cuts Kill," and "Fight Back, Fight AIDS, Fight Newt."

[138] Babuscio, "Camp and the Gay Sensibility," 47.

[139] ACT UP's designs regularly used humour and satire to promote their causes. Cruikshank, "Gay and Lesbian Liberation as a Political Movement," 77.

[140] Ross, "Uses of Camp," 144; Jackson Moore, "The Shameless Performativity of Camp in Patrick White's *The Twyborn Affair*," in *Queer Objects*, eds. Guy Davidson and Monique Rooney (New York: Routledge, 2019), 100.

Dorothy's journey along the Yellow Brick Road, this visual investigation has strayed from a linear path, initiating a complex understanding of the innumerable manners in which *The Wizard of Oz* has been admired, questioned, and most importantly transformed as a touchpoint of affirmative identification for the queer community. Garland's status as a queer icon has been cemented in what is arguably her most memorable role, and the film's inclusive themes of friendship and hope continue to speak volumes for anyone who feels – or who has ever felt – at odds with normative society. In its appearances in queer-focused works of art, it is clear that *The Wizard of Oz* carries a spectrum of legacies as multifaceted as the glimmer of Dorothy's Ruby Slippers, as vibrant as the colours of its rainbow, and as intrinsically queer as the Land of Oz itself.

III: HOME

"There's no place like home!"
— Dorothy, *The Wizard of Oz* (1939)

After Dorothy bids farewell to her friends in Oz, she taps the heels of her Ruby Slippers together three times and recites the incantation that brings her back to Kansas (fig. 42). Among the film's most memorable quotes, "there's no place like home" has become an idiom used to express one's idea of belonging, of feeling at-home.[141] However, home is a heavy word, and the vision of home presented in *The Wizard of Oz* is relatively simplistic, aptly reflecting the American principles under which it was produced. Distinct from the static image of Dorothy's farmhouse, home can alternatively be understood as an ideology, a feeling, or a series of symbolic representations that transcend spatial or physical boundaries.[142] With this in mind, I do not prioritize urban space over the rural, nor the public over the private. Instead, the interpretations of home observed in this section engage with various experiences, attachments, and larger feelings of home, belonging, and community.

As Ahmed suggests, questions of "home and being at-home can only be addressed by considering the question of affect: being at-home is a matter of how one feels or how one might fail to feel."[143] Home may be comfortable, but it also may feel uncomfortable, uncertain, or make one feel inadequate. In Ken Lum's *There Is No Place Like Home* (2000), the artist contends with issues such as immigration, racism, and nationalisms that are often at odds with one another in multicultural areas. In a similar vein, Félix González-Torres' *Untitled (Passport #II)* (1993)

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[141] Langley et al., *The Wizard of Oz*, 167; The phrase "there's no place like home" is believed to have made its first appearance in the 1832 American popular song, "Home! Sweet Home!" Bridget Bennett, "Home Songs and the Melodramatic Imagination: From 'Home, Sweet Home' to 'The Birth of a Nation,'" *Journal of American Studies* 46, no. 1 (2012): 179.
[142] Linda McDowell, "Unsettling Naturalisms," *Signs* 27, no. 3 (2002): 815.
[143] Ahmed, "Home and Away," 89 (italics in the original).

envisions a world free of geographical borders, where one's nationality does not restrict where they can and cannot travel. Overall, the works of art in this section destabilize the portrayal of home *The Wizard of Oz*, ultimately rocking its foundation to reveal home's shifting meanings. While this section uses queer theory to foreground its findings, I reiterate that the works outlined in this section do not necessarily speak explicitly to issues surrounding queer sexual or gender identities. Rather, and similarly to all of the artworks within this thesis, the examples reviewed in this section are engaged in a queering of the cultural value and understanding of home of *The Wizard of Oz*. Queering, as a verb, is used as an active mode of inquiry that disrupts and challenges an object's normative or intended meaning. In this case, queering, as a method, offers a flexibility for restructuring modes of understanding that are in excess of the prevalent connotations of the film's central message.[144]

The American Home in the 1930s and the 1950s

Cinematic representations of home either attempt to portray it as a universal idea, or through a subjective understanding that reflects an individual experience. *The Wizard of Oz* falls under the former representation. Its attempt to envision a universal image of home is viewed as optimistic, romantic, and even restrictive. Before analyzing artistic interpretations of the film's crucial message, it is important to recognize what home signified to American audiences in 1939. Rybczynski notes that the idea of the home, specifically the family home, is a strictly American invention – a myth – that has been circulated through endless depictions in media.[145] Upon its theatrical release, the centrality of home in *The Wizard of Oz* was lauded by critics, with *Variety* claiming that its simple truths carry "a message well timed to current events."[146] At the time,

[144] Halperin, "The Queer Politics of Michel Foucault," 62.
[145] Witold Rybczynski, "Efficiency," in *Home: A Short History of an Idea* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 158.
[146] John C. Flinn, "The Wizard of Oz," *Variety*, August 16, 1939, https://variety.com/1939/film/reviews/the-wizard-of-oz-3-1200412289/. For other reviews that praised the film's themes, see: Frank S. Nugent, "The Screen in

Americans had endured nearly a decade of economic hardship under the Depression. Families, homes, and properties were jeopardized or taken away altogether, and for the first time in modern American history, homelessness was a visible issue.[147] This was especially pertinent for those in the Midwest – enter Dorothy's Kansas – who suffered years of drought throughout the 1930s in addition to an already miserable set of circumstances. In what would be referred to as the Dust Bowl, this region of the United States was among the most negatively impacted, as many farmers unable to raise crops migrated elsewhere to seek employment.[148] With this in mind, the sentimental ending of *The Wizard of Oz* was appropriate to filmgoers at the time, because it empathized with the experiences of millions of Americans who were collectively healing from a troubling relationship to the institutions of home and country.[149]

Although *The Wizard of Oz* was rereleased to cinemas in 1949 and 1955, it solidified its legendary status in the medium of television during its first televised broadcast on November 3, 1956 (fig. 43).[150] The advent of television is essential to understanding the concept of the American home in the 1950s. Described as "the shining centre of the American home" in 1954, televisions defined the postwar, modern family unit.[151] The success of the first broadcast prompted its screening to become an annual event, thereby establishing *The Wizard of Oz* as a

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Review: 'The Wizard of Oz,' Produced by the Wizards of Hollywood, Works Its Magic on the Capitol's Screen," *New York Times*, August 18, 1939, 16; Edwin Schallert, "Fairy Tale of Oz Called Milestone in Fantasy," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1939, 18.

[147] Selcer, "From Tara to Oz and Home Again," 60.

[148] Donald Worster, "Introduction," in *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 5.

[149] Selcer, "From Tara to Oz and Home Again," 61.

[150] Walter Ames, "New Generation to See 'Wizard of Oz' Tonight; Jones Heads CBS-TV," *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1956, sec. 3; In Canada, *The Wizard of Oz* shared its premiere date with the United States. "Television Listings," *The Globe and Mail*, November 3, 1956.

[151] Pat Weaver quoted in David Morley, "At Home with the Media," *Home Territories: Media, Mobility and Identity* (London: Routledge, 2000), 88.

fixture of American popular culture.[152] Indeed, a film *about* home was being watched *at* home by millions of viewers throughout the United States and internationally. As new generations were introduced to *The Wizard of Oz* on their television screens and in subsequent forms of home media, they would henceforth be influenced by its particular message of home. Like a conventional description of home, the presence of *The Wizard of Oz* on television screens established it as a familiar, communal, and revisited site. As a result, the film has become a target to the creation of urban legends that have been circulated by its new generations of viewers. Among the most popular of these urban legends is the coincidence that the film syncs with British rock band Pink Floyd's album, *The Dark Side of the Moon* (1973).[153] To name a few of these synchronous concurrences: the vocal arrangement of the song "The Great Gig in the Sky" plays at the beginning of the tornado sequence, a heartbeat sound in "Speak to Me" plays moments before the Tin Man sings "If I Only Had A Heart," and the lyrics "Home, home again / I like to be here when I can" in "Time" play when Dorothy recounts her dream to her loved ones in Kansas near end of the film. In *Suburban Legend* (1999) (fig. 44), American artist Julie Becker (1972-2016) displays this myth while contending with issues related to twentieth century popular culture, the dissemination of the American Dream, and the ongoing myth of the American home.[154] Becker's audiovisual installation plays *The Wizard of Oz* from beginning to end, in sync to its alternative soundtrack, thereby projecting one of the more pervasive myths that has been ascribed to the film by recent generations of viewers who have become accustomed with *The Wizard of Oz* in domestic space. Despite the numerous moments where the album

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[152] On December 13, 1959, *The Wizard of Oz* had its second broadcast on CBS and became an annual event thereafter.

[153] Lee Barron and Ian Inglis, "'We're Not in Kansas Any More': Music, Myth, and Narrative Structure in *The Dark Side of the Moon*," in *"Speak to Me": The Legacy of Pink Floyd's The Dark Side of the Moon*, ed. Russell Reising (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 58.

[154] Julie Becker et al., "I Must Create a Master Piece to Pay the Rent" (New York: MoMA PS1, 2019).

seems to have been produced with the film in mind, *Dark Side of the Moon*'s psychedelic rock sound on its own fits perfectly with the fantastical settings in *The Wizard of Oz*. By virtue of Pink Floyd's undulating and intoxicating instrumentations, the cheery and wholesome Hollywood musical is immediately transformed into a drug-induced, hallucinatory foray into Dorothy's dreamworld. Of course, one can only speculate whether a similar soundscape would be used if *The Wizard of Oz* was produced in the era of psychedelic rock. In its fusion of two cultural artefacts from two points in the twentieth century (the 1930s and the 1970s), *Suburban Legend* destabilizes the sounds and songs we expect to hear from *The Wizard of Oz*. In doing so, the work reflects Halberstam's notion of queer temporality, in which normative notions of time are altered.[155] Becker's convergence of two popular cultural artefacts from two distinct periods also allows the viewer to consider how audiences engage with media, and where these engagements took place; those who were introduced to *The Wizard of Oz* on the cinema screen were now watching it with younger generations on their living room's television set. Similarly, teenagers of the 1970s could listen to their favourite albums in the comfort of domestic spaces, on record players or audio cassettes. The television broadcasts of *The Wizard of Oz* not only reshaped how audiences would interact with the film, but as demonstrated in *Suburban Legend*, the broadcasts permitted younger generations to invent ways of experiencing the film through its existence in and proximity to domestic space.

Destabilizing Home: Migration and Estrangement

The reception towards the film's idea of home has shifted in recent years.[156] In an increasingly globalized world, many people may find comfort without feeling the desire to settle down in one

[155] Halberstam, "What's That Smell?", 152.
[156] William Stillman quoted in Birkett, "'The Merry Old Land of Oz'?" 131.

place, thereby taking issue with the film's static portrayal of home. As Ahmed argues, defining home by where one's family lives, or by one's native country, is inadequate: "home is not simply about fantasies of belonging (where do I originate from?) but that it is sentimentalized as a space of belonging ('home is where the heart is')."[157] Speaking to cinema, Bronfen notes that filmic representations of home are often adorned by nostalgic a fantasy of belonging that is unattainable.[158] The fantasies of belonging mentioned by Ahmed and Bronfen characterize Dorothy's Kansas. Despite its bucolic realism, the film's fixed depiction is still a fantasy for many, perhaps more so to contemporary viewers than to the film's audiences in the 1930s and the 1950s. If home is more appropriately defined in its changeability, then it can be effectively understood through various experiences of migration, resettlement, or displacement. Salman Rushdie, who immigrated to England from British India as a child,[159] recalls that when he was a boy watching *The Wizard of Oz* in Bombay (Mumbai), he believed that England felt as delightful a possibility as Oz, thereby linking the film to his own migrant experience.[160] Many artists have expanded upon the portrayal of home in *The Wizard of Oz* to speak to feelings and conditions related to geographical estrangement.

In *Untitled (Passport #II)* (1993) (fig. 45), Cuban-born American artist Félix González-Torres (1957-1996) emphasizes the common challenges faced by foreigners when travelling to certain countries. As his family fled from Cuba in the 1980 mass emigration, the Mariel Boatlift, the work is also semi-autobiographical.[161] In this installation, selected as a part of the CCA

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[157] Ahmed, "Home and Away: Narratives of Migration and Estrangement," 89.
[158] Bronfen, "Introduction: Not Master in His Own House," 21.
[159] British India, also known as the Provinces of India (earlier named the Presidencies of British India or the Presidency Towns), were divisions of British governance in India from 1612-1947.
[160] Salman Rushdie, "A Short Text About Magic," in *The Wizard of Oz* (London: BFI Publishing, 1992), 9.
[161] Jens Hoffmann and Claire Fitzsimmons, "Félix González-Torres," in *The Wizard of Oz* (New York: California College of the Arts, 2008), 32.

Wattis Institute's 2008 exhibition on the story of *The Wizard of Oz*, González-Torres troubles the institutional links of the passport as an international travel document and identification form. Instead of a person's name, sex, date of birth, citizenship status, or document number, González-Torres' neatly stacked passports are booklets filled with black-and-white printed images of birds flying in cloudy skies, which may be interpreted as a reference to the lyrics of "Over the Rainbow" ("If happy little bluebirds fly / Beyond the rainbow / Why, oh why can't I?") (fig. 46). As his works typically encourage participatory involvement, viewers are able to keep the passports for themselves, performing as agents in the formation of the work's meaning as an ephemeral and site-specific installation.[162] The viewer participation of *Untitled (Passport #II)* that is integral to the work's message also reflects the seemingly infinite ways that viewers interact with and relate to the film's messages. Different generations of viewers take away with *The Wizard of Oz* something different based on their personal experiences, age, background, or identity. The film's simple lessons and truths have been carried out in the minds and memories of its audiences, similarly to how passersby of Untitled (Passport #II) take their passport to consider their ideal world. *Untitled (Passport #II)* envisions a reality in which geopolitical borders are nonexistent, where travel is universal and unbounded by one's nationality or country of origin.[163] The unlimited amount of booklets available also suggests an infinite number of migrant experiences, including that of the migrant farmer from the Dust Bowl in the 1930s, to countless other cases of immigration, refuge, displacement, and estrangement.

Issues of nationality and identity are also challenged in Chinese-Canadian artist Ken Lum's series, *There Is No Place Like Home* (2000) (fig. 47). The work's title may refer to the

[162] Muñoz, "Performing Disidentity: Disidentification as a Practice of Freedom," 170.
[163] Hoffmann and Fitzsimmons., "Félix González-Torres," 32.

film's famous phrase, but when presented as a public art installation, Lum rejects the private connotations of home (fig. 48). In *There Is No Place Like Home*, Lum uses the familiar aesthetics and iconography of advertising to produce a series of largescale billboards that connect photographic portraits with provocative texts. For example, a closeup portrait of a white woman surrounded by a forested landscape who looks into the distance is seemingly paired with "Wow, I really like it here / I don't think I ever want to go home!" (fig. 49) while another billboard shows a portrait of a woman wearing a hijab with the accompanying text "I'm never made to feel at home here / I don't feel at home here" (fig. 50). It is implied that the woman in the first example is a Canadian citizen of the white majority who has a comfortable relationship with her home country, whereas the woman in the second billboard is suggested to be an immigrant or new Canadian who may be experiencing racism or xenophobia. Like Torres' work, Lum's series requires viewer participation, as its passersby are encouraged to confront their own biases concerning race, nationality, and identity.[164] To a Canadian viewer, these billboards also arouse the continuing debate as to whether or not there is such a thing as a singular Canadian identity when Canada's way of life is distinguished in part by its embrace of multiculturalism.[165] With six portrait-text pairings in total, *There Is No Place Like Home* complicates not only home's private connotations in its public display, but also tackles with the complications of what it means to feel at home when one's identity clashes with the majority of those in the location of arrival, or the new home. As Ahmed writes, "home is somewhere; it is indeed else-where, but it is also where the subject is going." By representing an array of subjects, *There Is No Place Like*

[164] Cynthia Foo, "Portrait of a Globalized Canadian: Ken Lum's 'There Is No Place Like Home,'" *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* 30, no. 1/2 (2005): 41.
[165] Ibid., 39.

Home challenges home's stability, opting to reveal questions of departure, arrival, and the complexities of living in a multicultural zone.

Speaking to an Aboriginal Canadian perspective, Métis (Cree/English) artist Rosalie Favell grapples with feelings of homeliness in *I awoke to find my spirit had returned* (1999) (fig. 51), part of the *Plain(s) Warrior Artist* series.[166] As Kalbfleisch states, the home is a significant space of engagement for Aboriginal female artists,[167] and in this work, Favell aims to "present a complex self-portrait of [her] experiences as a contemporary Aboriginal woman" and how "the desire to go home is always present even as [she] question[s] where home is."[168] *I awoke to find my spirit had returned* uses a still image from the final scene in *The Wizard of Oz,* in which Dorothy wakes up from her dream and is surrounded by her loved ones in her Kansas bedroom (fig. 52). Despite Favell's use of familiar imagery, however, she does not aim to speak for a collective Aboriginal experience.[169] Favell positions herself as Dorothy, wrapped in the iconic Hudson's Bay point blanket.[170] The only other figure in the image that takes on a new identity is Professor Marvel, who is replaced with Métis politician Louis Riel (1844-1885). Favell considers Riel as a prophet – a wizard of sorts – to Aboriginal peoples, as she claims that his life's mission promised that "everything that we need is right inside of us, that all roads lead to home, that

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[166] I use the term Aboriginal to refer to the Native population of Canada, although I acknowledge Indigenous is becoming more widely preferred. Aboriginal is also the term used by the artist in the sources cited.
[167] Elizabeth Kalbfleisch, "Women, House, and Home in Contemporary Canadian Aboriginal Art: Hannah Claus, Rebecca Belmore, and Rosalie Favell," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 33, no. 3 (2012): 1.
[168] Rosalie Favell, "Rosalie Favell: I Awoke to Find My Spirit Had Returned," *Resilience Project*, accessed February 8, 2020, https://resilienceproject.ca/en/artists/rosalie-favell.
[169] Kalbfleisch, "Women, House, and Home in Contemporary Canadian Aboriginal Art," 23.
[170] The Hudson's Bay point blanket is a complicated symbol of Canadian colonial histories, trade, and relations between Indigenous and settler Canadians. The blankets allegedly carried smallpox, killing a number of Indigenous Canadians throughout the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Stephanie Cram, "The Complicated History of the Hudson's Bay Point Blanket," *CBC Radio*, September 6, 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/radio/unreserved/uncovering-the-complicated-history-of-blankets-in-indigenous-communities-1.5264926/the-complicated-history-of-the-hudson-s-bay-point-blanket-1.5272430.

being true to our people is the way to recover our pride, our self-respect."[171] The print's title refers to a famous Riel quote from 1885: "My people will sleep for one hundred years and when they awake, it will be the artist that gives them their spirit back." By inserting herself into *The Wizard of Oz*, Favell becomes the heroine of a story in which she is estranged from her family, nevertheless returning home to the place from which she began. Bronfen argues that cinematic narratives focused on concepts of home "are inscribed by a nostalgia for an untainted sense of belonging, and the impossibility of achieving that is also the catalyst for fantasies about recuperation and healing."[172] *I awoke to find my spirit had returned* can also be viewed as a visual means of recuperation as Favell comes to accept that home is not a singular place, but rather a dynamic space for possibility and imagination.

Leaving Home: Queer Community

As discussed in the previous section, *The Wizard of Oz* holds a prominent reputation within queer culture. However, the film's familial image of home presents an issue for its queer spectators, as the relationship between home has not always been compatible with being queer.[173] Many queer folks have been – and continue to be – exiled and disowned by their given families. Today, LGBTQ+ youth in the United States are disproportionately affected by homelessness when compared to their heterosexual and/or cisgender peers, and the majority of homeless youth live in cities with access to shelters and support programs.[174] This type of migration is nothing

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[171] Favell, "Rosalie Favell: I Awoke to Find My Spirit Had Returned."
[172] Bronfen, "Introduction," 21.
[173] Although beyond the scope of this thesis, recent queer scholarship has opened up the field for understandings of queer space. See for example: Aaron Betsky, *Queer Space: Architecture and Same-Sex Desire*, (New York: William Morrow, 1997); Jack Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Scott L. Morgensen, *Spaces between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization*,(Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2011); Karen Tongson, *Relocations: Queer Suburban Imaginaries* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).
[174] Although it is difficult to precisely measure (i.e., safety concerns, data collection, sensitivity), it is estimated that 25%-40% of homeless youth self-identify as LGBTQ+. Alex Abramovich and Jama Shelton, eds., "Introduction:

new, as various attempts to seek out a community have existed for generations. Notably, after WWII, the liberal safe havens found in the cities became destinations for many queers who had been exiled from their biological or given families.[175] Graham argues that queer folks who are estranged from home because of their sexual or gender identity are more defined by where they left than by where they arrive to.[176] Similarly, Ahmed notes that home is not necessarily where the subject left, but where the subject is going: "Home becomes the possibility and necessity for the subject's future."[177] *The Oz Altarpiece* (2017) by Carl Grauer is directly correlated with this ongoing mission by queer people to seek a positive and hopeful future from elsewhere (fig. 53). Grauer himself is one of many who migrated from a conservative hometown to a liberal urban centre – in his case, Wilson, Kansas to New York City. In the centre of Grauer's triptych, modeled after the top interior central panel of Jan and Hubert van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* from 1432 (fig. 54), Dorothy is portrayed as a colossal, omniscient figure who floats in the sky above a flattened horizon. The far-left side of the landscape resembles a rural setting, possibly Kansas, while the opposite end of the triptych represents Oz, marked with the Emerald City and a rainbow. Behind Dorothy, dark grey clouds swirl towards the ground in the form of two tornadoes. A large red poppy hangs in midair in each of the three panels. In the central panel, the poppy rests at Dorothy's feet, which is suggestive of the symbol of the lotus throne in representations of Hindu gods, referring to divinity, purity, and creation.[178] Dorothy's four arms propose another connection to depictions of Hindu deities such as Shiva, Ganesh, and Vishnu.[179]

Where Are We Now?" in *Where Am I Going To Go: Intersectional Approaches to Ending LGBTQ2S Youth Homelessness in Canada & the U.S.* (Toronto: Canadian Observatory on Homelessness Press, 2017), 2.
[175] David Higgs, "Introduction," in *Queer Sites: Gay Urban Histories Since 1600* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 2.
[176] Mark Graham, "Follow the Yellow Brick Road: An Anthropological Outing in Queer Space," *Ethnos* 63, no. 1 (July 20, 1998): 118.
[177] Ahmed, "Home and Away," 78.
[178] Cybelle Shattuck, "Classical and Medieval Hinduism," in *Hinduism* (London: Routledge, 1999), 45.
[179] Ibid., 47.

Three of Dorothy's hands hold three symbolic objects from the film: the Tin Man's heart, the Scarecrow's brain, and the Cowardly Lion's medallion of courage. The fourth symbol, a house, floats in the sky below Dorothy's right hand, implying home's impermanence. Through Grauer's references to Christianity and Hinduism, *The Oz Altarpiece* situates *The Wizard of Oz* on a pedestal of meaning that is far more powerful than its secular value, and in this context, the symbols from the film become Dorothy's holy attributes. Evidently, Grauer claims that the symbols within the composition contribute to one's completeness or self-fulfillment. On the painting, Grauer recalls, "I wasn't really looking at home as the final solution. […] I really built [*The Oz Altarpiece*] purely out of a ritual of self-acceptance."[180] Like Dorothy, many queer people can be considered as travellers who are on a similar quest towards their own version of the Emerald City, with the hope that a sense of community can be fostered within it.

The Wizard of Oz depicts an idea of home that is simultaneously sentimental and limiting. Although the film's portrayal of home aptly reflected the values of its audiences in the 1930s and the 1950s, values and understandings towards home have since shifted, and can be more sufficiently understand through feelings and attachments to home's mobility. "There's no place like home" may be the final phrase expressed in *The Wizard of Oz*, but it provokes an opportunity to consider how home may be alternatively approached through various affective experiences. A sense of home may be found in the ritualistic viewing of *The Wizard of Oz* in shared space with loved ones. For immigrants, one home may be abandoned in pursuit of a new one, where new destinations may welcome and challenge home's comforts. For queer folks estranged from their given or biological families, a feeling of home may be otherwise found with chosen families. Home is a universally desired destination of possibility and connectivity. The

[180] Grauer, interview.

artists discussed in this section have challenged the representation of home in *The Wizard of Oz* by exploring various facets of home across multiple planes of identity including culture, sexuality, race, and nationality.

CONCLUSION

In December 2019, to commemorate HIV and AIDS Awareness Month, a block of The AIDS Memorial Quilt (hereafter referred to as the Quilt) was displayed at the altar of Carl Grauer's place of worship, Christ Episcopal Church in Poughkeepsie, New York (fig. 55). Considered to be the largest ongoing community arts project in the world,[181] the Quilt commemorates nearly 100 000 AIDS victims among its 49 000 handmade panels, with its blocks having been displayed in a range of venues across the United States.[182] One of the Quilt's six handsewn panels depicted characters from none other than *The Wizard of Oz* (figs 56-57). Had it not been for the invaluable dialogues shared during the production of this thesis, this panel would be unknown to me. Thus, it is only appropriate to mark the end of this investigation with this serendipitous reminder of the relationships that can be fostered through shared interests, and moreover, in how *The Wizard of Oz* seems to materialize in matters that defy practical explanation.

Requested by Reverend Susan Fortunato, the Quilt also coincidentally honoured a Poughkeepsie-based activist who hosted support groups for those living with HIV and AIDS within the same church that the Quilt would hang nearly three decades after their passing.[183] Through the Quilt's ongoing public displays of memoriam, Bryan-Wilson argues that, as textiles, there is a unique type of activism in its mobility and durability.[184] Connected to collective, domestic craft practices, quilts are commonly viewed as material markers of home and community. Not only did one of the panels happen to include characters from *The Wizard of Oz*

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[181] The AIDS Memorial Quilt was conceived in 1985 by San Francisco-based activist Clive Jones. Charles E. Morris III, "The Mourning After," in *Remembering the AIDS Quilt* (Michigan State University Press, 2011), xlii.
[182] Typically consisting of six attached panels, blocks of the AIDS Quilt measure approximately twelve by nine feet each; Julia Bryan-Wilson, "Remains of The AIDS Quilt," in *Fray: Art + Textile Politics* (The University of Chicago Press, 2017), 184.
[183] Requests can be submitted online to loan and display panels via The NAMES Project Foundation, the Quilt's caretaking organization; Grauer, interview.
[184] Bryan-Wilson, "Introduction: Textile Politics," 34.

– a film with home at its core – but it also memorialized an activist who, at one point, considered both Poughkeepsie and the Church to be their home, or the centre of their community. Like Dorothy, the Quilt has travelled, eventually returning to the place from which it began in a poignant demonstration of memoriam.

This thesis has demonstrated that *The Wizard of Oz* carries a spectrum of connotations that have become complicated, destabilized, and transformed in a range of artistic interventions. At its most foundational, this thesis has proved how a single film can provide a substantial impact in inciting various modes of artistic production, effectively blurring the scholarly boundaries between film history and art history. Films, like most conventional works of art, are relatively static objects, but they become mobilized once they are reinterpreted by their audiences through shifts in social attitudes, perspectives, and receptions. Although not a group for whom it was originally intended*, The Wizard of Oz* has become an affirmative cultural touchpoint of queer identification through a series of codes and signifiers, consequently permitting it to appear in various modes of queer-focused artistic production and sociopolitical activism. The film's representation of home has also been broadened in order to consider the seemingly endless possibilities for how belonging and community are sought out and found.

Shortly after beginning this research, I accepted the disheartening possibility that scrutinizing *The Wizard of Oz* could tarnish my lifelong admiration of it. Instead, this project has done exactly the opposite. In this engagement with the film's histories and the manners in which its legacies have been expanded upon in works of art and activism – only a fraction of which I could discuss in this modest contribution to scholarship – my appreciation for it has grown exponentially. Shared amongst myself and many of the artists within this thesis is an indebtedness to *The Wizard of Oz*. Indeed, this project is built upon the power invested in certain

films to mould communities linked by a common interest. Much has changed since its theatrical premiere on August 15, 1939, but what remains is a desire to visit and revisit the very same spectacle that has, for generations, provoked a collective sense of wonder, imagination, and hope. In all of its delightful familiarity, *The Wizard of Oz* may always be counted on to fulfill the same pleasures that it has provided for over eighty years, just as long as there is someone who is curious enough to return to the rainbow, to cross the threshold from reality to fantasy, all while discovering something new along the way.

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FIGURES

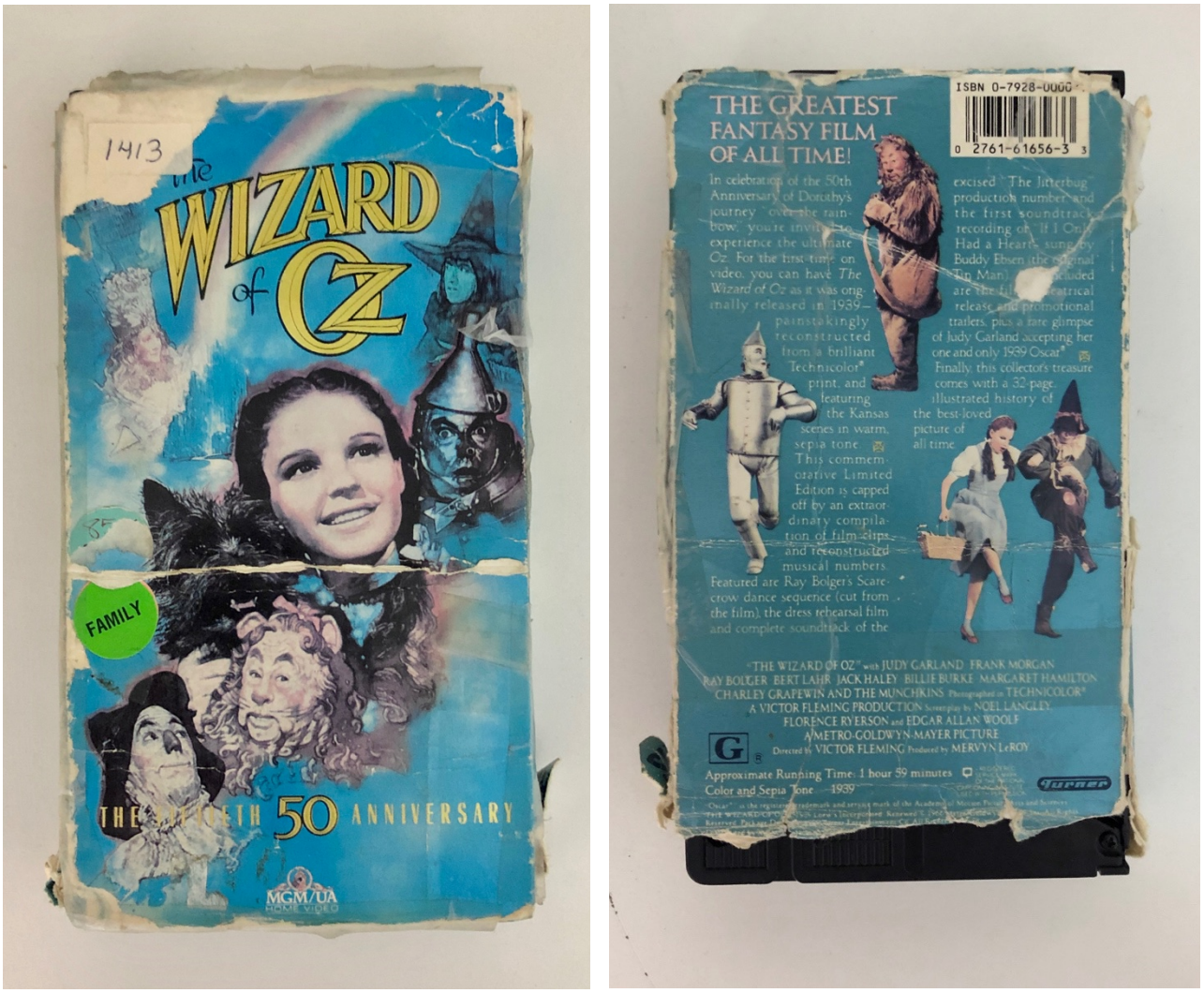

Fig. 1. "Family VHS cassette of *The Wizard of Oz* (front and back cover)," c. 1989.
Source: Personal photograph.

Fig. 2. “My *Wizard of Oz*-themed seventh birthday party,” April 26, 2003.
Source: Personal photograph.

Fig. 3. Virgil Abloh, “Louis Vuitton Spring/Summer 2019 Menswear, Palais Royale, Paris Fashion Week,” 2018. In Sarah Mower, “Spring 2019 Menswear Louis Vuitton,” *Vogue*, June 21, 2018, https://www.vogue.com/fashion-shows/spring-2019-menswear/louis-vuitton. Accessed October 15, 2019.

Fig. 4. Virgil Abloh, “Louis Vuitton Spring/Summer 2019 Menswear, Palais Royale, Paris Fashion Week,” 2018. In Sarah Mower, “Spring 2019 Menswear Louis Vuitton,” *Vogue*, June 21, 2018, https://www.vogue.com/fashion-shows/spring-2019-menswear/louis-vuitton. Accessed October 15, 2019.

Fig. 5. Virgil Abloh, “Louis Vuitton Spring/Summer 2019 Menswear, Palais Royale, Paris Fashion Week,” 2018. In Sarah Mower, “Spring 2019 Menswear Louis Vuitton,” *Vogue*, June 21, 2018, https://www.vogue.com/fashion-shows/spring-2019-menswear/louis-vuitton. Accessed October 15, 2019.

Fig. 6. Virgil Abloh (designer), Inez & Vinoodh (photographers), "Advertising campaign for Louis Vuitton Menswear Spring/Summer 2019," 2019.
Source: Matt Moen, "Virgil Abloh Reveals Three-Part Spring Campaign for Louis Vuitton," *Paper Magazine*, January 22, 2019, https://www.papermag.com/louis-vuitton-spring-19-campaign-2626661780.html?rebelltitem=2#rebelltitem2. Accessed January 15, 2020.

Fig. 7. Virgil Abloh (designer), Inez & Vinoodh (photographers), "Advertising campaign for Louis Vuitton Menswear Spring/Summer 2019," 2019.
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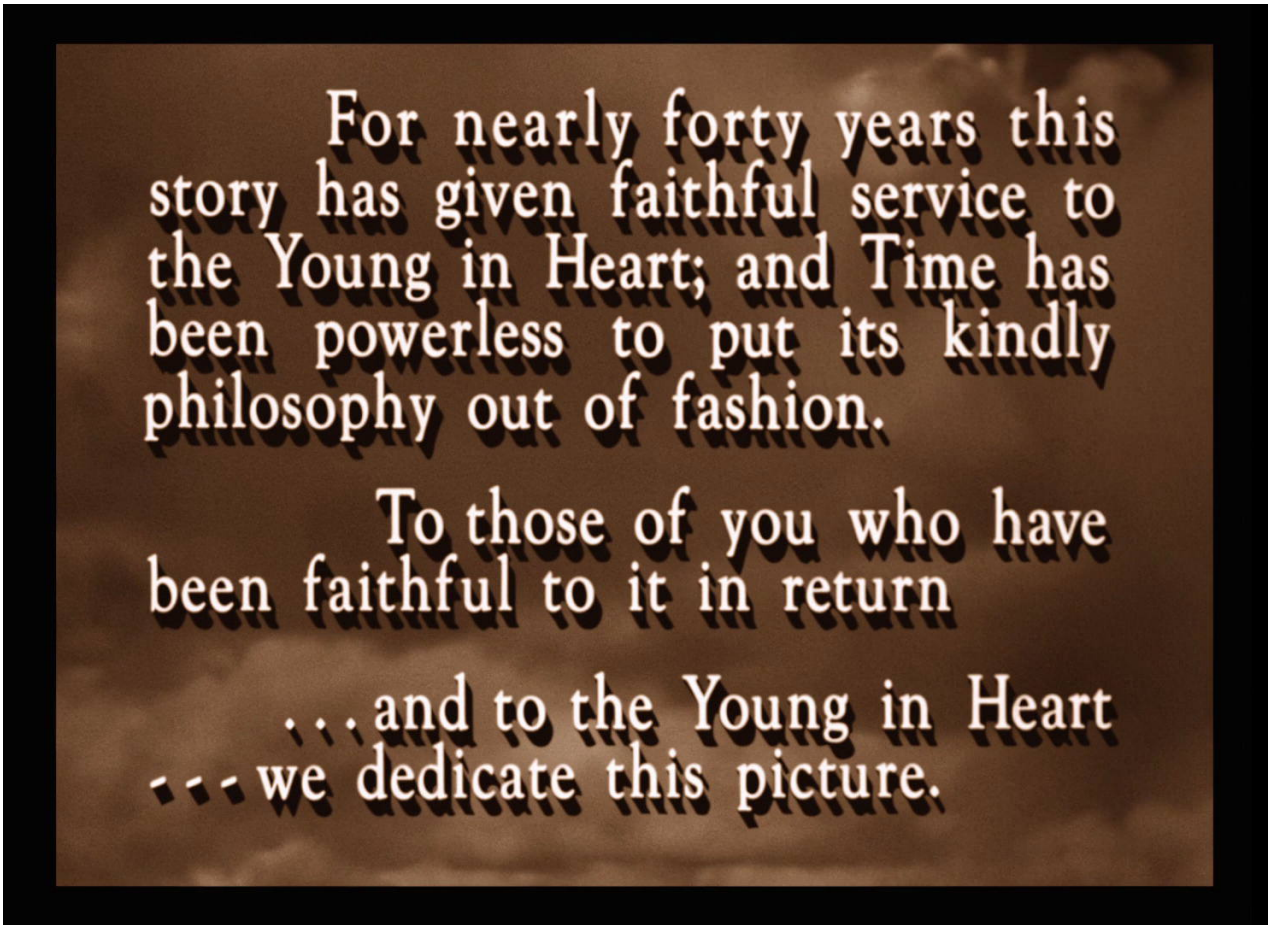

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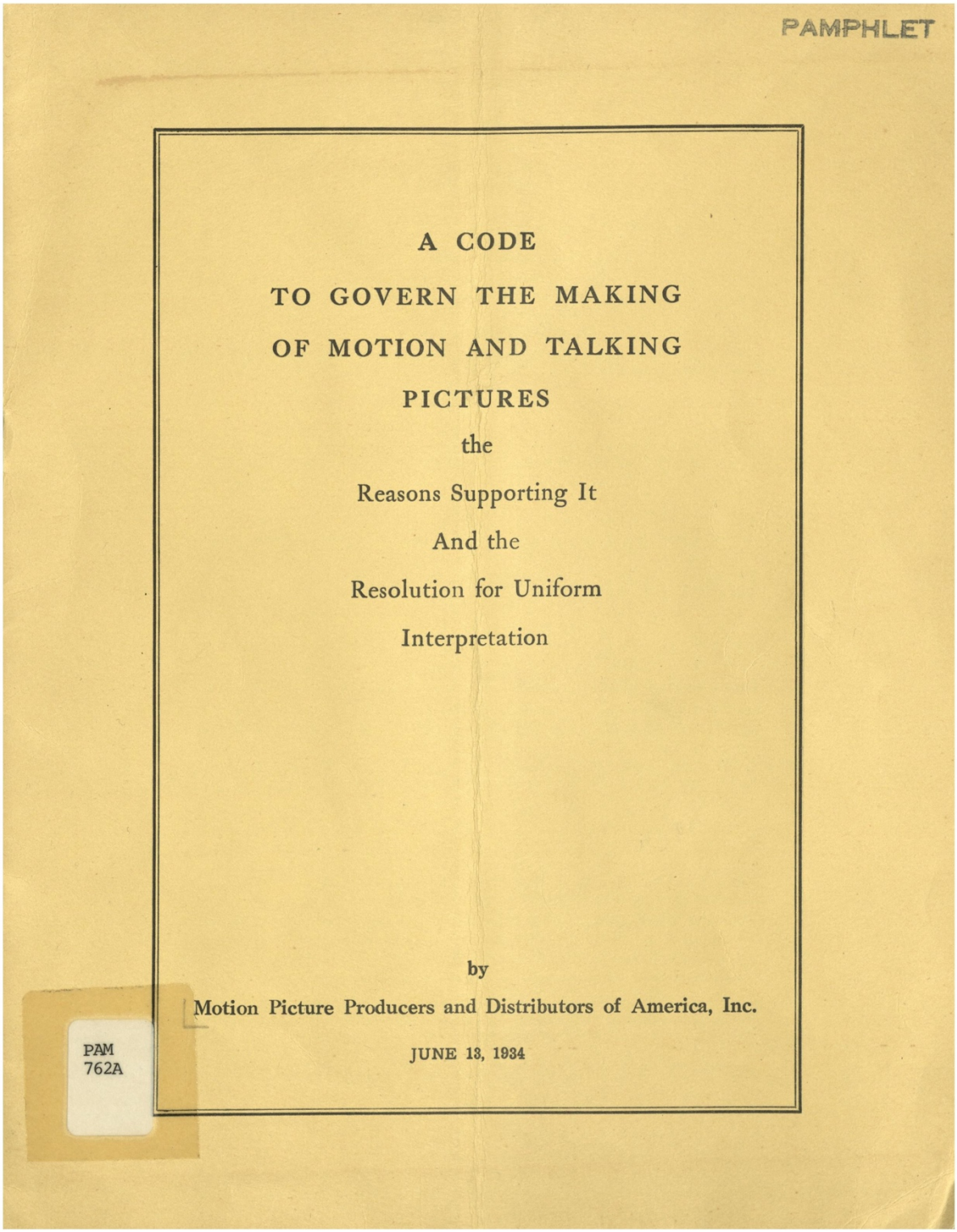

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Fig. 24. Dawn Mellor, *Cigarette Dream Dorothy*, oil on canvas, 2008. Source: Team (Gallery, Inc.), http://www.teamgal.com/artists/dawn_mellor/exhibitions/133/a_curse_on_your_walls. Accessed May 1, 2020.

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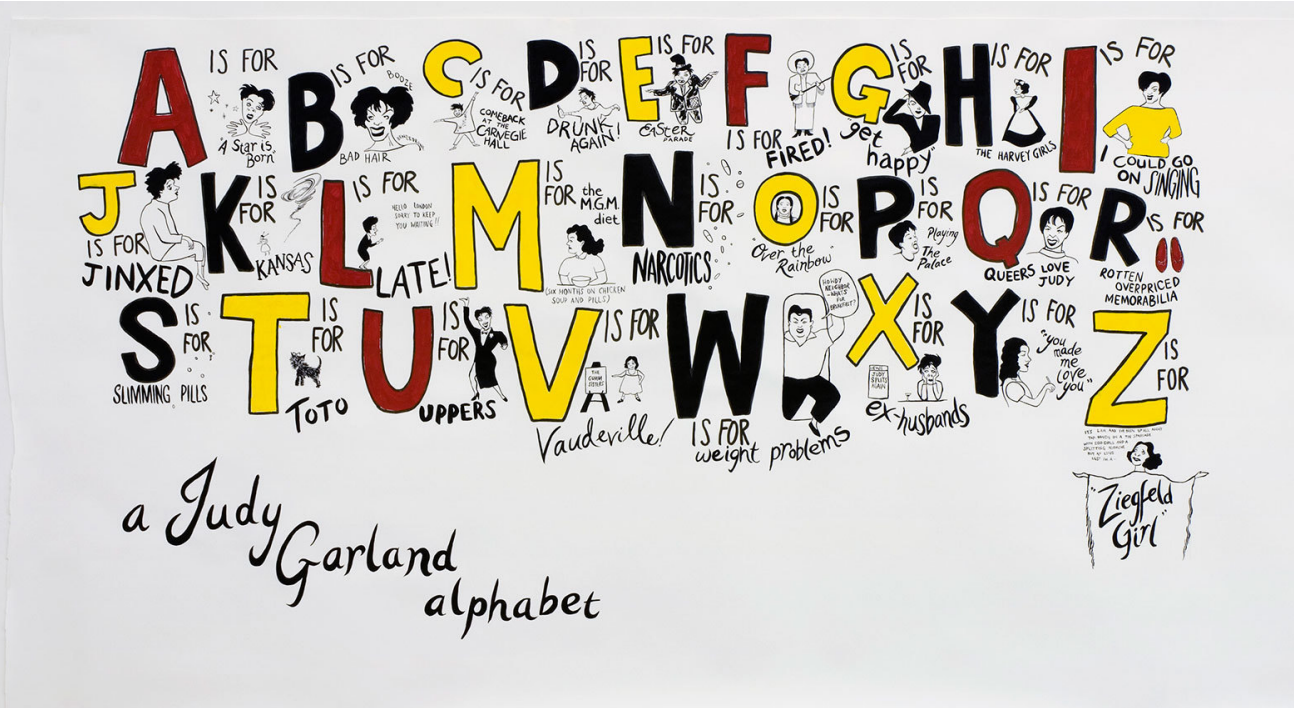

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Fig. 28. Soda_Jerk, *After the Rainbow*, two-channel video, 2009. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 29. Soda_Jerk, *After the Rainbow*, two-channel video, 2009. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 30. Soda_Jerk, *After the Rainbow*, two-channel video, 2009. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 31. Soda_Jerk, *After the Rainbow*, two-channel video, 2009. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 32. Soda_Jerk, *After the Rainbow*, two-channel video, 2009. Courtesy of the artist.

Fig. 33. Emily Anne Epstein, “The façade of the Stonewall Inn displaying Dorothy’s gingham dress.” Source: Erika Owen, “Just in Time for LGBT Pride, NYC's Stonewall Inn Is Granted Landmark Status,” *Travel and Leisure*, June 25, 2015, https://www.travelandleisure.com/culture-design/lgbt-pride-stonewall-in-landmark-status-nyc.
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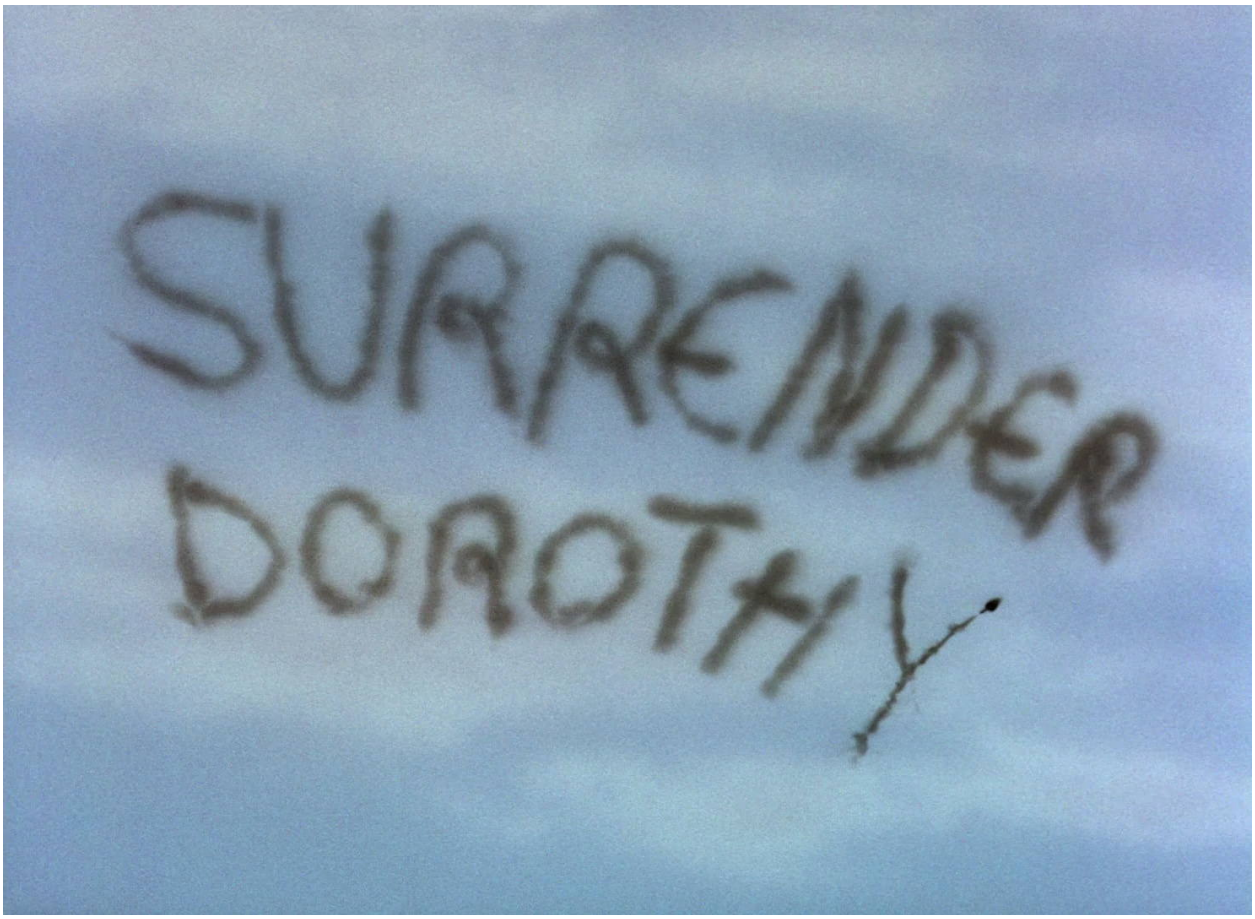
Fig. 34. Rogier van der Weyden, *The Descent from the Cross*, oil on panel, before 1443. In the Prado Museum, Madrid.

Fig. 35. Carl Grauer, *The Deposition*, oil on canvas, 2019. Courtesy of the artist.



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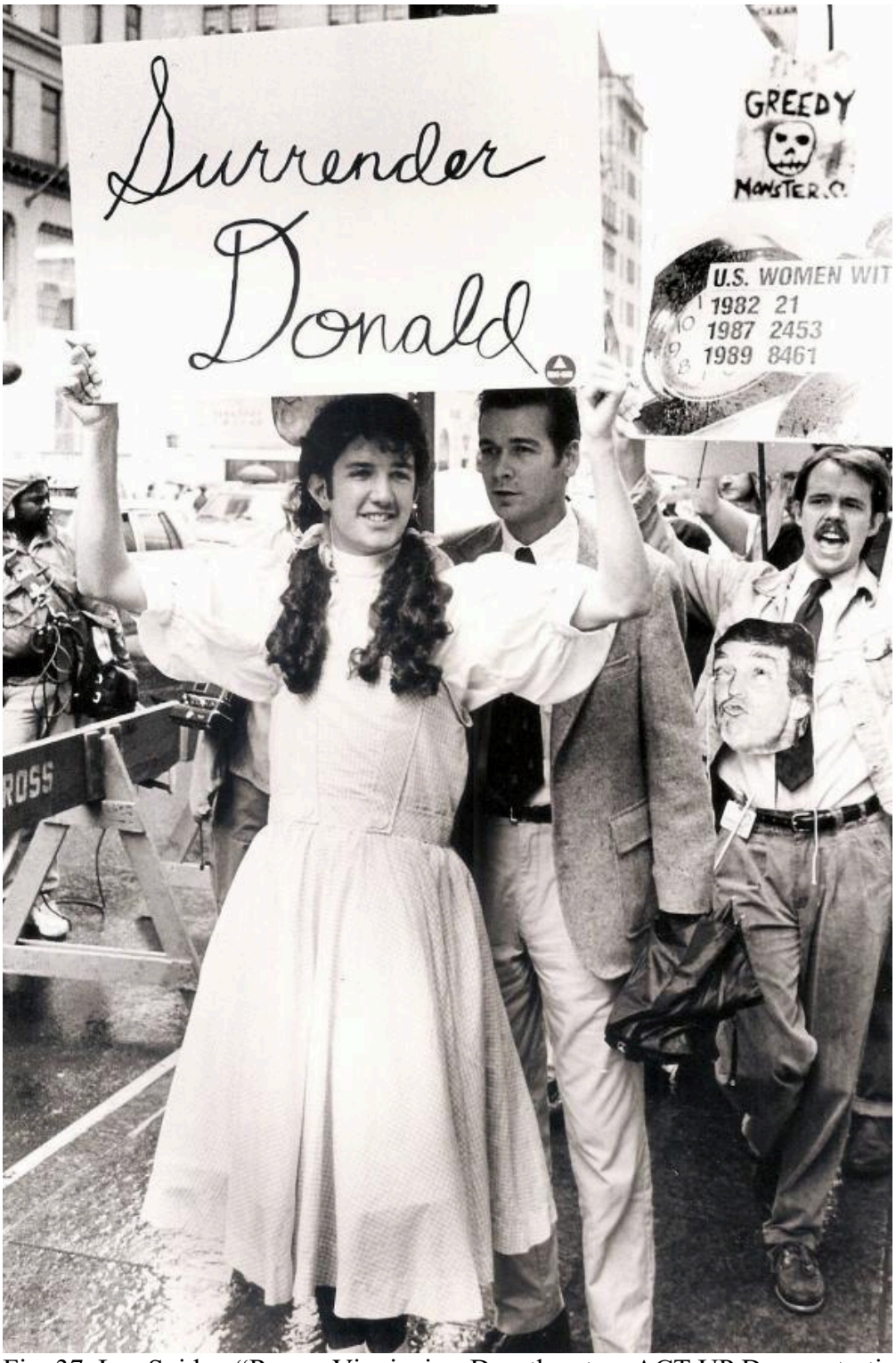

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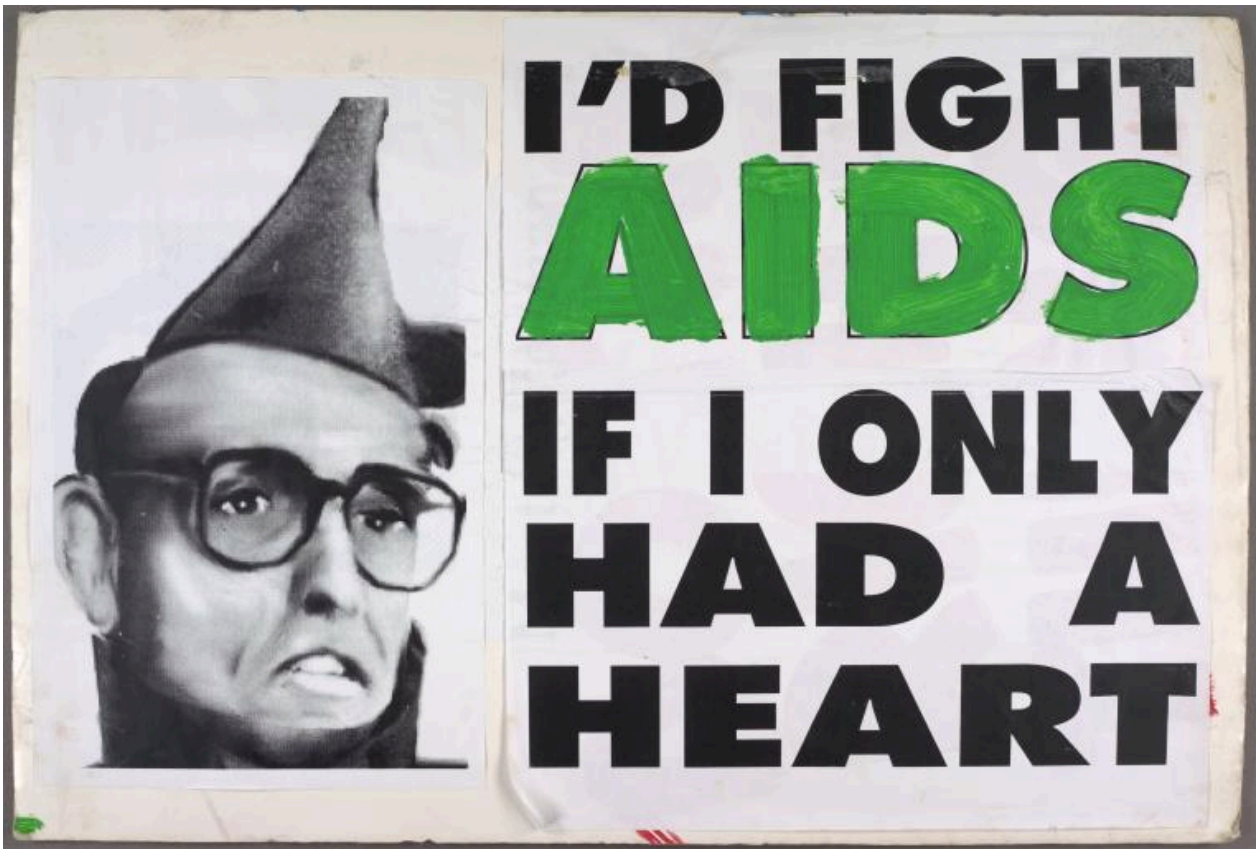

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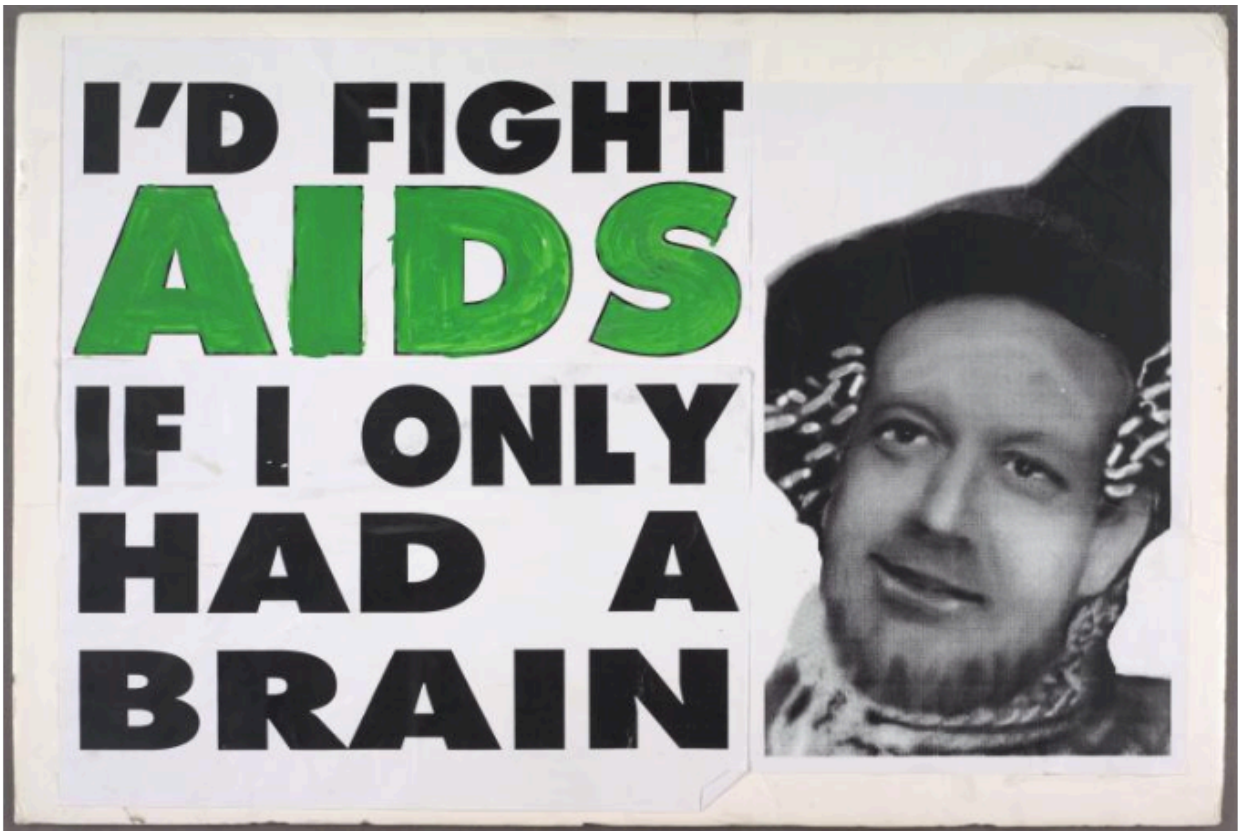

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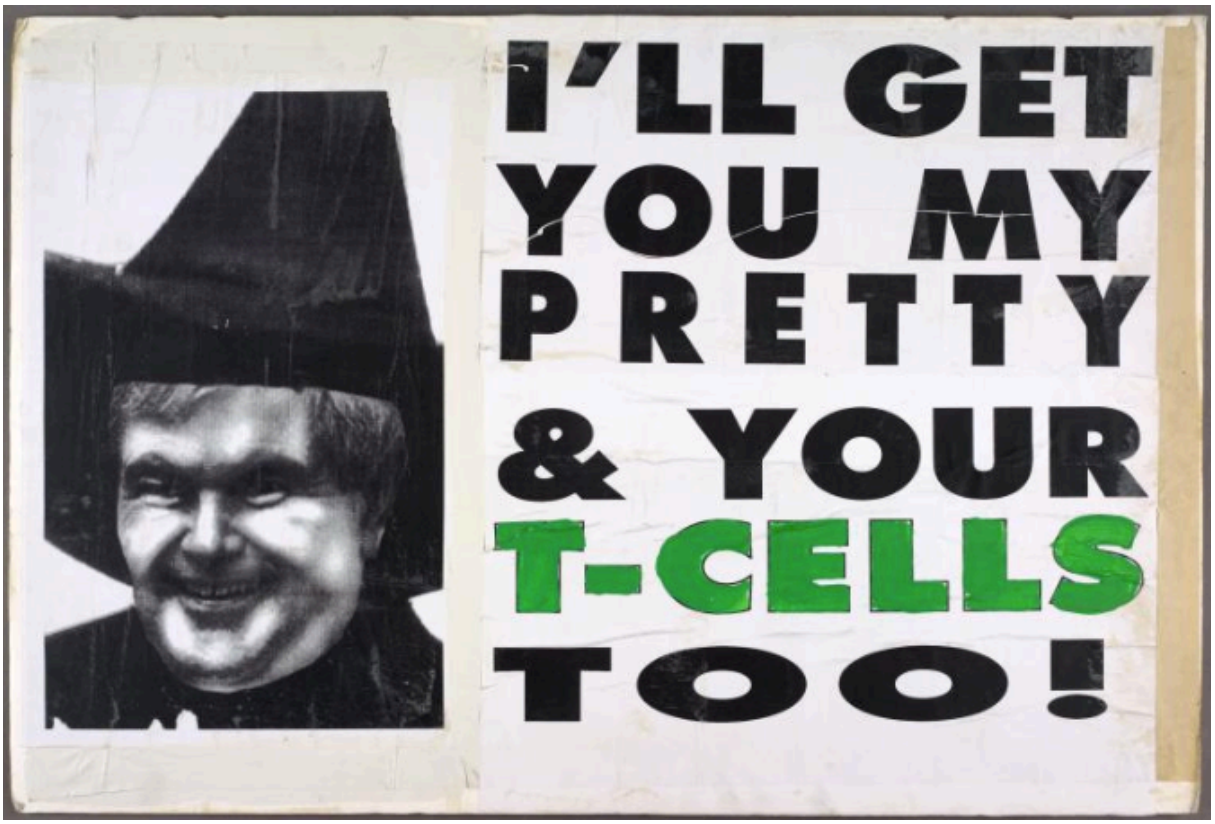

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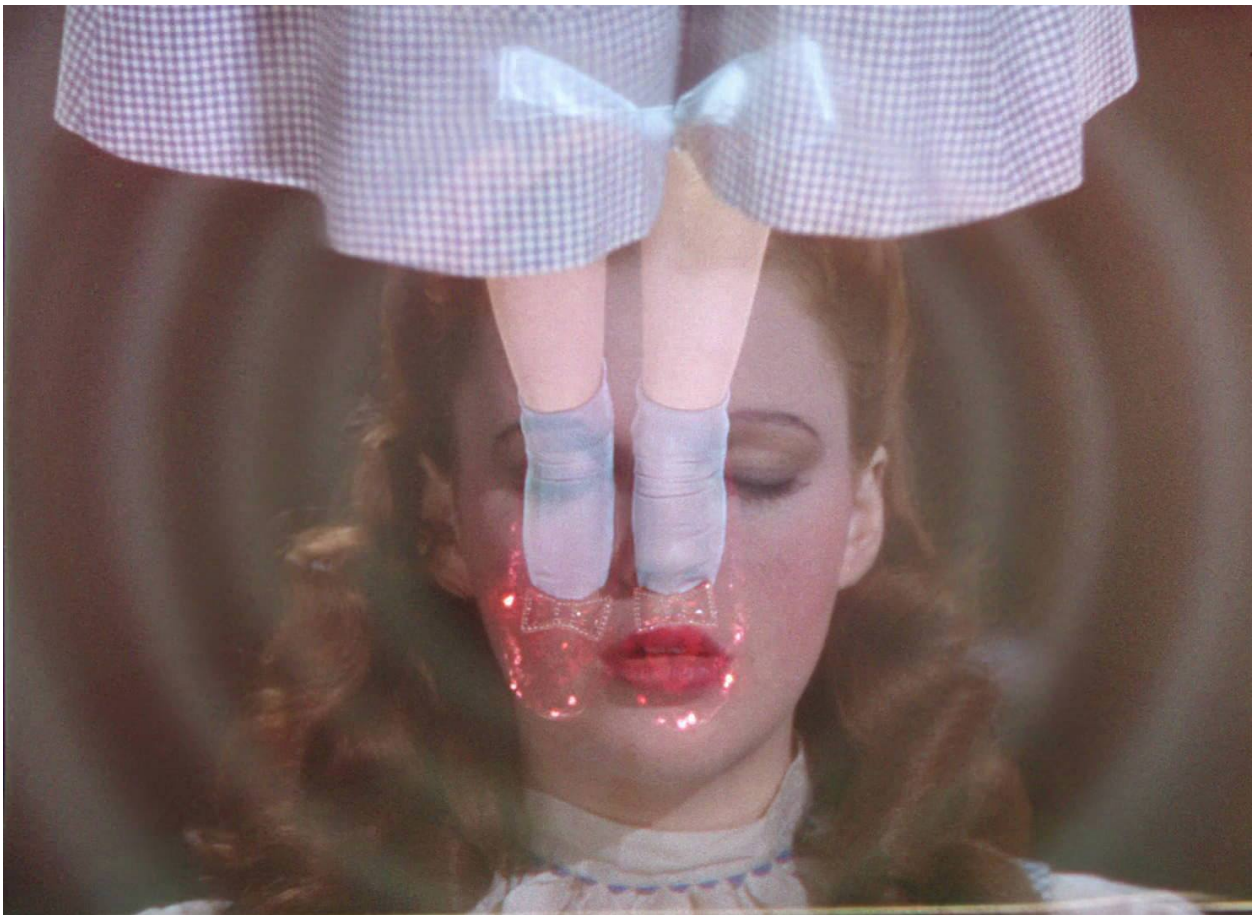

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Fig. 46. Félix-González Torres, *Untitled (Passport #II)*, prints on paper, 1993.
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Fig. 47. Ken Lum, *There Is No Place Like Home*, digital prints, 2000.
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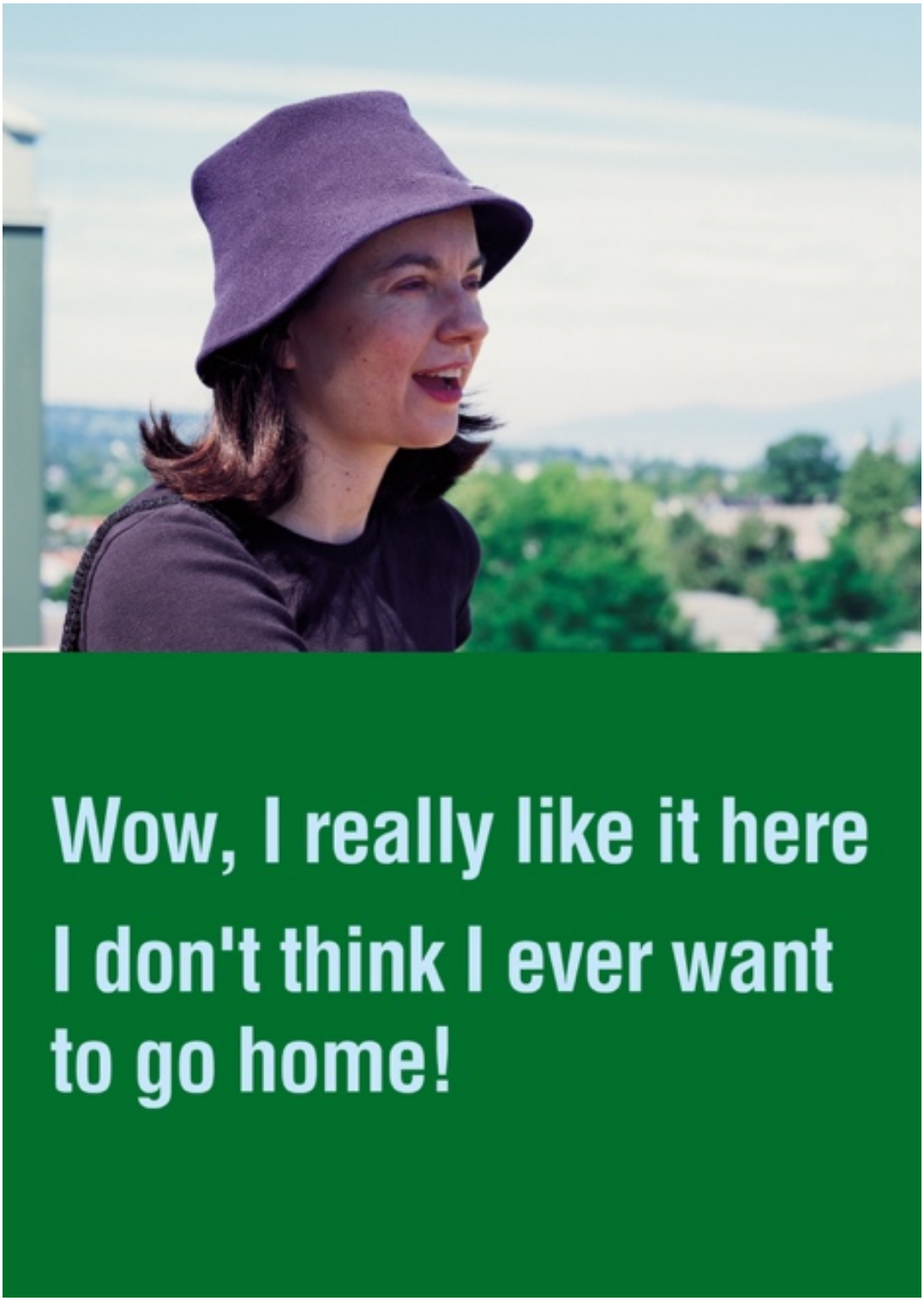

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Fig. 54. Jan and Hubert van Eyck, *Ghent Altarpiece*, oil on panel, 1432.
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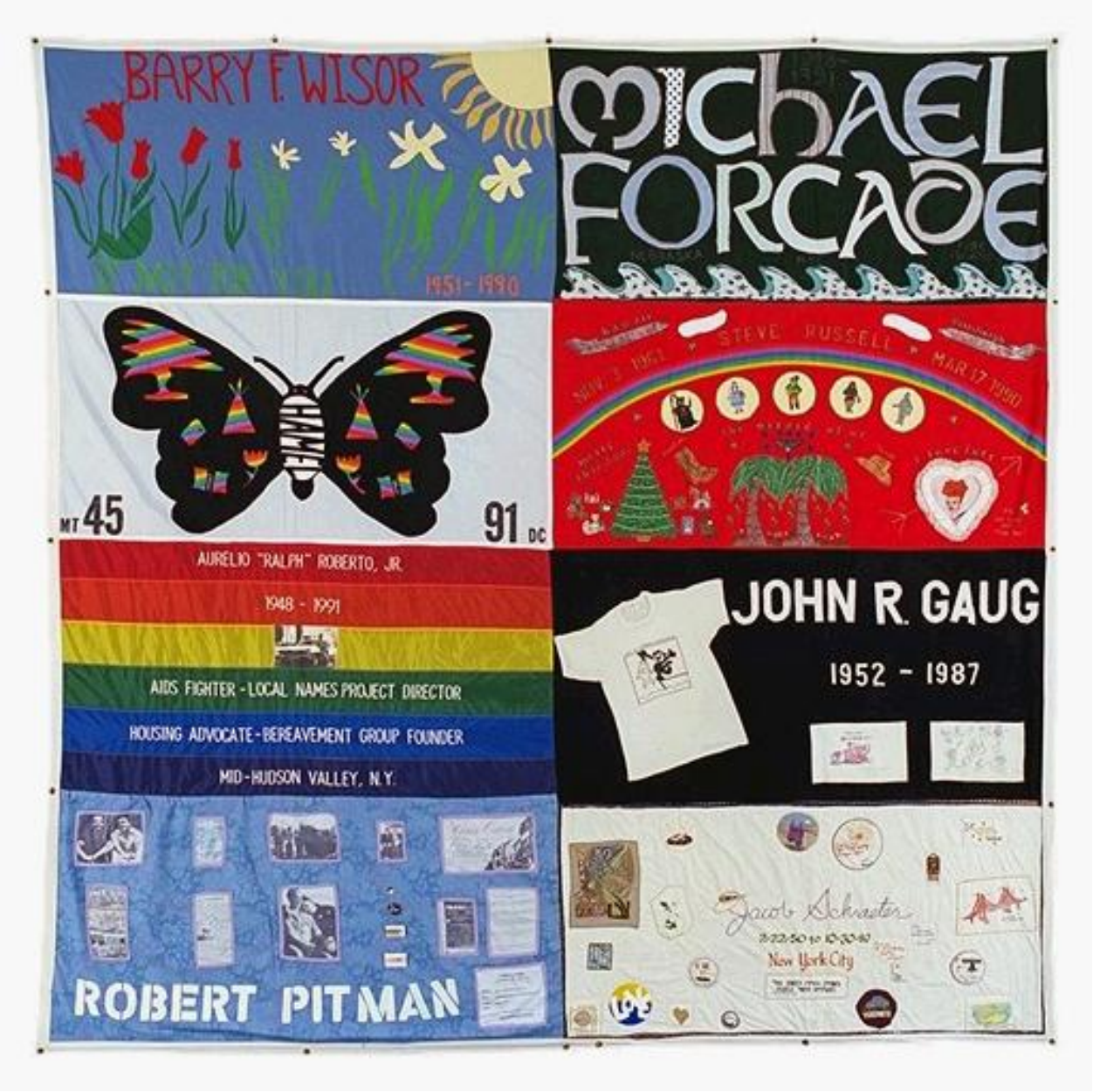

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